

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LXXIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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Graeco-Roman Memoirs, No. 95

PUBLISHED BY  
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
WITH THE SUPPORT OF  
THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH COUNCIL  
AND  
THE BRITISH ACADEMY

2009

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TYPESET BY  
THE STINGRAY OFFICE, MANCHESTER  
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY  
THE CHARLESWORTH GROUP, WAKEFIELD  
AND PUBLISHED BY  
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
(REGISTERED CHARITY NO. 212384)  
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

Gracco-Roman Memoirs

ISSN 0306-9222

ISBN-13 978 0 85698 183 8

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## PREFACE

Section I offers the edition of a single text (**4968**), several leaves of a codex of NT Acts, which is the most significant new addition to the Greek evidence for the Acts over the past hundred years. **4968** shows that the bi-polar concept of a two-text form of Acts can hardly continue to be maintained. At the very least, the history of the text of Acts will need extensive revision.

Section II collects texts of principally medical content, and doubles the number of such papyri published previously in the series; many more are planned to appear in future volumes. The number is significant; did Oxyrhynchus have its own local tradition of medical education? **4969** represents the first published witness to the Hippocratic *De Articulis*, and indicates significant divergences from the transmitted text. **4970** offers rare evidence for the educational use of the Hippocratic *Oath* in antiquity. **4971** describes dietetic treatment closely related to a therapeutic system developed within the medical sect of the Methodists. **4972** records an elaborate and unparalleled analysis of the forms of medical expertise proper to surgery.

Section III publishes documents of the Roman period, grouped by theme. Notable items include the early though fragmentary census returns **4980–82**, the two archive rolls of registrations of children and notifications of death (**4993–8**), the dozen new summonses (**5001–12**). **5013–16** illustrate the public performances which Oxyrhynchites enjoyed, as the oracle questions **5017–19** illustrate their personal crises.

The edition of **4968** was initially entrusted to Dr S. R. Pickering, who produced an advanced draft; this was brought to completion by Professor David Parker, who is responsible for the final version of the introduction and commentary. The establishment of the text owes much to the painstaking and thorough collation of the original by Dr Coles. Section II is chiefly the work of Dr David Leith, and derives from his doctoral thesis (UCL); Dr Leith records his gratitude to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for the award of a doctoral studentship, and to the Wellcome Trust for funding his research fellowship, during which the final revision was carried out. Some of the texts edited in section III were first studied at seminars on documentary papyrology held by Professor Bowman and Dr Gonis in Oxford; others stem from doctoral theses (R. Hatzilambrou and N. Litinas, UCL; M. Malouta, Oxford). The scripts submitted by the individual editors have been further revised and reworked by Gonis, who takes responsibility for any defects.

Professor Isabella Andorlini contributed to the elucidation of certain texts in section II. Professor Thomas read and commented on most texts in section III; Professor Parsons advised on section I and parts of III; Dr Coles read early drafts of **5013–19**; Dr Rea commented on a version of **5013–16**; Dr Amin Benaissa contributed corrections to the penultimate draft of section III. Two PhD students at UCL, Susan Beresford and Antonia Sarri, have helped with the keying of section I, proofreading, and imaging. Dr Leith indexed section II, and Dr Benaissa section III.

As always, we are grateful to Dr Jeffrey Dean for his meticulous copy-editing and typesetting, and to The Charlesworth Group for efficient production; and we remain indebted to the Arts and Humanities Research Council and The British Academy for their manifold support.

This is the last volume in the series in which Dr Coles and Dr Rea appear in the formal capacity of 'Advisory Editor'; we hope that this will not be the last volume to profit from their advice and expertise. Our gratitude for their contribution is easier to express than to measure.

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AB = A. Benaissa  
 NG = N. Gonis  
 DM = D. Manetti  
 SRP = S. R. Pickering

DC = D. Colomo  
 RH = R. Hatzilambrou  
 HM = H. Maeno  
 PMP = P. M. Pinto

MC = M. Cottier  
 DL = D. Leith  
 MM = M. Malouta  
 PR = P. Ripat

MG = M. Gerhardt  
 NL = N. Litinas  
 DCP = D. C. Parker  
 MS = M. Satama

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## NUMBERS AND PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$\alpha\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
$\dots$	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
$[\alpha\beta\gamma]$	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
$[\dots]$	Approximately three letters are lost
$()$	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. $(\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta)$ represents the symbol $\tau$ , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$
$[[\alpha\beta\gamma]]$	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\cdot}{\alpha\beta\gamma}$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle\alpha\beta\gamma\rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
$\{\alpha\beta\gamma\}$	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (*BASP* Suppl. no. 9, <sup>5</sup>2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.



# I. NEW TESTAMENT

## 4968. ACTA APOSTOLORUM 10-12, 15-17

89B/1-4  
P<sup>127</sup>

16.5 × 21.5 cm (full page)

Fifth century  
Plates II-V

Assembled from numerous fragments, these remains of eight leaves from two gatherings of a papyrus codex, with two columns to the page, preserve a highly distinctive text of Acts 10.32-5, 40-45; 11.2-5, 30; 12.1-3, 5, 7-9; 15.29-31, 34-6, (37), 38-41; 16.1-4, 13-40; 17.1-10. A page number ( $\rho\beta = 112$ ) on folio 7a (containing 16.27-35) suggests that the codex began with Acts.

The box in which the fragments were stored contained miscellaneous material only partly from Oxyrhynchus, so that the provenance of **4968** is subject to doubt.

### *Script and date*

The main hand of the papyrus is a relaxed form of Biblical Majuscule that may be assigned to the fifth century. Examples for comparison include P<sup>81</sup> (ed. S. Daris, *Un nuovo frammento della Prima Lettera di Pietro*, Barcelona 1967, pll. 1-11; LDAB 3068), a papyrus of the Ascension of Isaiah (P. Amh. I 1, pll. III-IX = *GBEBP* 18a; LDAB 5989), and another of the Psalter (P. Amh. I 5; LDAB 3280). P<sup>81</sup> was assigned to the fourth century by the editor, but the fifth century was proposed by Turner, *Typology* 17, 150. The Amherst examples were assigned to the early fifth century by G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* 72, tavv. 53-4. The former is placed in the fifth, the latter in the fifth or sixth century by Turner, *Typology* 185, 170.

The ink is brownish in colour. The first scribe corrected omission of some letters. There are further alterations in a small hand, in black ink much darker than that of the main text. The script of the page number, added (above 16.31) in a lighter ink, is in much the same style as the main text but could be by a different hand. The scribe occasionally and for no obvious reason wrote the last letter of a line small and high. See for example the three epsilons on folio 6b, column i 6 and column ii 24 and 26.

### *Physical details of the codex*

The breadth and height of the page can be measured from folio 7 as 16.5 × 21.5 cm. This calls to mind the aberrants of Group 6 in Turner, *Typology* 18. The upper margin was a little over 2.5 cm and the lower margin 2-2.5 cm. The outer margin was 3 cm wide; the inner margin was half that, 1.5 cm. The intercolumnar

distance is 1 cm. The columns are approximately 16.5 cm high and 5.5 cm wide. In folios 1–3 (Chapters 10–12) the number of lines per column is 22–24; in folios 5–8 (Chapters 16–17) it rises to 25–26; the number in folio 4 (Chapter 15) is uncertain.

The manuscript is unusual among papyrus codices of the New Testament in having two columns. Other examples are  $\mathfrak{P}^{4/64/67}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^5$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{118}$  (III cent.),  $\mathfrak{P}^{25}$  (IV),  $\mathfrak{P}^{50}$  (IV/V),  $\mathfrak{P}^{84}$  and  $\mathfrak{P}^{96}$  (VI),  $\mathfrak{P}^{34}$  (VII), and  $\mathfrak{P}^{41}$  (VIII).

The sheets were, as normal, arranged so that the fibres of facing pages run in the same direction. The surfaces of one pair of facing pages (7b, 8a) were consolidated prior to the time of writing (during manufacture?) with several narrow horizontal strips of papyrus, merging with the rest of the material rather than being glued on top. They run across the whole width of the page and are spaced at 3–4 cm intervals. There are several *kolleseis* (showing that the sheets of the codex were cut from a roll), with coinciding lines of breakage.

Traces of some binding holes are visible. Top and bottom binding cords survive, the girth of the ties being sufficient for a number of quires. There is also a third surviving tie, which was added towards the bottom. There is evidence that the codex suffered from wear along sheet folds and at binding points, and was repaired and rebound. In the first place, the folds of two partially extant sheets were repaired with strengthening strips about 2 cm wide (1 cm on either page) pasted across the outside of the folds, running the full height of the sheets (visible on folios 1a and 8b). The strips were affixed with their vertical fibres against the vertical fibres of the sheets. At several points in folio 8b, column ii, the strip covers a small amount of writing. Secondly, the binding points of the conjoint leaf comprising folios 2 and 3 were reinforced with a piece of papyrus about 2.5 cm square wrapped around the fold, on the outside of the sheet (i.e. visible on folios 2a and 3b), both sheet and piece showing horizontal fibres. The third binding cord may also be associated with this renovation process.

Folios 2 and 3 are from a bifolium (a portion of the centre of the sheet survives). Some of the fragments of this sheet are still attached to folio 8 by the binding cords. The position in which they were found suggests that they may have been bound after it. This may imply that the bifolium was at some point wrongly bound in after folio 8, perhaps when the codex was repaired. The fragments of folio 1 are likely to be from a bifolium of the same quire as folios 2 and 3 and to have been similarly misbound. The innermost sheet of the quire is lost. Such a mistake might explain why two non-consecutive portions of the manuscript have been preserved. On the other hand, it may be coincidence that folios 2, 3 and 8 are still attached to the cords.

The two folios 4 and 5 were a bifolium (suggested by fibre matching) and formed the inmost sheet of a quire. The next three (folios 6, 7 and 8) cannot be matched with one another. If it is supposed that the sheets from which they come folded about the bifolium comprising folios 4 and 5, with the lost conjugates holding text prior to 15.29, the quire would have consisted of four sheets or more.

An arrangement by quaternions (which was by this time the favoured but not the only arrangement: cf. Turner, *Typology* 62) is thrown into doubt by the calculation (assuming 12 verses per leaf) that 10 leaves are required for the text between 12.9 and 15.29. These lost intervening leaves cannot be fully apportioned on the supposition that the bifolium comprising folios 2 and 3 is the second sheet in from the middle of a quaternion (which would mean 2 more leaves of the quaternion after folio 3, and so could account for 2 of the 10) and if folios 4 and 5 are taken to be the central bifolium of a quaternion (which would mean 3 leaves of this quaternion before 4, and so could account for 3 of the 10). Five leaves, not enough for a quaternion of their own, would be left unaccounted for. Perhaps a mixture of threes and fours is the answer; such mixtures are attested (cf. Turner, *Typology* 61-2).

The diagram overleaf shows the contents of the leaves, the direction of their fibres and other details of their make-up. About 31 leaves may be calculated to be lost before 10.32, and about 33 leaves after 17.10, if the codex contained only Acts. With the 8 leaves represented by the fragments, the 2 leaves of the bifolium lost after 11.5, and the 10 leaves calculated for the text lost between 12.9 and 15.29, this gives a codex of about 168 pages (84 leaves = 42 sheets).

The text is very evenly distributed, as the table on p. 5 shows (with the average given in the nearest whole number). The only aberrations are in the two shortest fragments, where the figures are the least likely to be reliable.

#### *Scribal habits and diacritical marks*

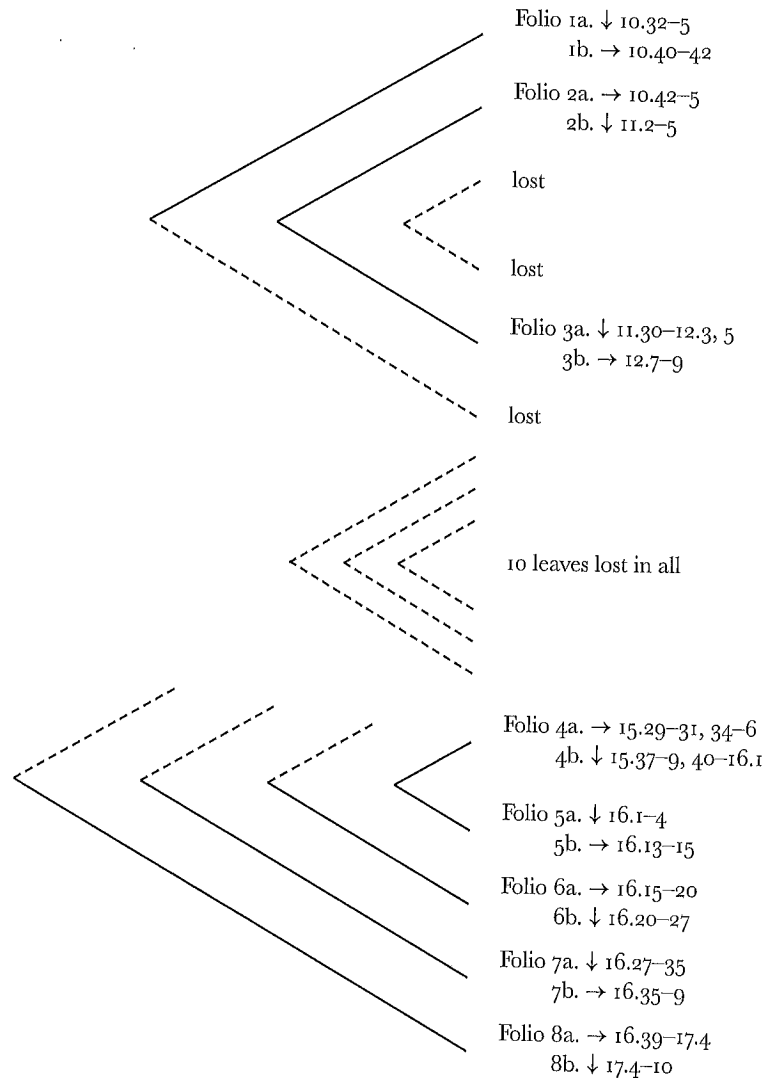
*Nomina sacra* occur or may be safely restored for *θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, χριστός, πατήρ, πνεῦμα*, and *ἄνθρωπος*. There are a few rough breathings (16.14, 21, 17.7) and circumflexes (16.34; 17.2; both added incorrectly). Diaeresis is usually written over initial iota and upsilon (but it is not used in our restorations). The word *καί* is sometimes abbreviated (more often at a line-end, but also within a line). The page number is in the top right-hand corner of a right-hand page, the only such corner intact. Punctuation consists of oblique strokes (normally after a word, sometimes above its last letter) and points (usually middle, sometimes high, once low). Many of these are in blacker ink, and were added by another hand. Paragraphi occur at 15.30 and 17.10.

#### *The text*

This papyrus is the most significant new addition to the Greek evidence since the publication in 1927 of P. Mich. inv. 1571, containing 18.27-19.6, 19.12-16 (Gregory-Aland 9<sup>38</sup>).<sup>1</sup> Another highly significant discovery of recent times has

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Sanders, 'A Papyrus Fragment of Acts in the Michigan Collection', *HTR* 20 (1927) 1-19.

## NEW TESTAMENT



been a manuscript of a Middle Egyptian Coptic version (Pierpont Morgan Library Copt. G<sup>67</sup>, containing 1.1-15.2) which supports many of the readings found in the longer text.<sup>1</sup> Another important versional witness for this form of text is the marginal readings of the Harklean Syriac.

The papyrus contributes substantially to our understanding of the development of the text of Acts. It has been traditional to divide the older witnesses into

<sup>1</sup> H.-M. Schenke (ed.), *Apostelgeschichte 1,1-15,3 im mittellägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Glazier)* (TU 137; Berlin 1991).

<i>folio</i>	<i>column</i>	<i>lines</i>	<i>letters</i>	<i>average</i>
1 a	1	22	235	11
	2	—		
1 b	1	—		
	2	20 <sup>a</sup>	212	11
2 a	1	24 <sup>b</sup>	267	11
	2	—		
2 b	1	—		
	2	23	265	12
3 a	1	23	258	11
	2	4	55	14
3 b	1	5	47	9
	2	23	252	11
4 a	1	8 <sup>c</sup>	92	12
	2	12	144	12
4 b	1	11	118	11
	2	10	114	11
5 a	1	24 <sup>d</sup>	273	11
	2	—		
5 b	1	—		
	2	22	238	11
6 a	1	25	276	11
	2	22	246	11
6 b	1	26	304	12
	2	26	290	11
7 a	1	25	279	11
	2	25	271	11
7 b	1	26	280	11
	2	26	286	11
8 a	1	25	270	11
	2	25	279	11
8 b	1	25	298	12
	2	26	308	12

<sup>a</sup> Not including line 3.<sup>b</sup> Not including line 24.<sup>c</sup> Not including lines 11-12, 16.<sup>d</sup> Not including line 25.

two groups. The one has traditionally been known as the 'Alexandrian' or 'Old Uncial' text, the other as the 'Western'. It has been customary to regard these two forms as championed by two manuscripts; the one by a fourth-century Codex Vaticanus (Gregory-Aland 03), the other by Codex Bezae (Gregory-Aland 05), a

Graeco-Latin copy produced in about 400. This second text has been calculated most recently to be between six and seven per cent longer.<sup>1</sup> It contains alternative wordings, additional details, and longer versions of events. According to Read-Heimerdinger (17–19), there is more variation in narrative than in speeches. On the whole our papyrus happens to be preserved in passages containing a high proportion of narrative, though it does contain sections of Peter's speech in Chapter 10 (often in a very distinctive version). Whether it is similar to Codex Bezae in this apparent respect for apostolic words over Lukan narrative may be hard to establish.

Although a few scholars have suggested that the 'Western' text is original, the majority consider it to be a secondary development. The more recent Byzantine text, represented by the majority of minuscule witnesses, contains some elements of the longer version, but generally offers a version of the shorter. The general view that the longer text is secondary characterizes it as a free recasting of the story. Hitherto scholarship has tended to assume that there was only one such free version. This was because of the markedly different character of Codex Bezae when it was compared to Codex Vaticanus. Other copies, notably the sixth-century Graeco-Latin bilingual Codex Laudianus and the Harklean Syriac, along with vestiges in other versions, bear witness to other forms of text, but in nothing like so pronounced a manner. So it is that scholarship has assumed Acts to be a two-text problem. The papyrus offers a strong challenge to this view, leading rather to the recognition that if a text could exist in one free version, it could exist in many. The fact is that  $\mathfrak{P}$  offers a new free version. Although it differs greatly from Codex Vaticanus, it also presents a strikingly different version from that found in Codex Bezae. Like Codex Bezae, it is somewhat longer than Codex Vaticanus, and like Codex Bezae its wording often varies from Codex Vaticanus. But its variations from it are by no means identical with those of Codex Bezae. Take the example of the Philipian gaoler's response to the earthquake (16.27–30). If we set  $\mathfrak{P}$  between the two parchment manuscripts, the differences are clear to see:

<sup>1</sup> J. Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts: A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism* (JSNTS 236: Sheffield 2002) 6f., argues for 6.6 per cent. W. A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts* (SNTStudies 71: Cambridge 1992) 213 n. 18, reckons 6.24 per cent. Both explicitly correct older, more inflationary estimates, such as the 8.5 per cent of Kenyon, apparently rounded up to 10 per cent by Metzger.

<i>Codex Vaticanus (03)</i>	℘	<i>Codex Bezae (05)</i>
27 ἐξυπνος δε γενομενος ο δεσμοφυλαξ και ιδων ανεωγμενας τας θυρας της φυλακης σπασαμενος την μαχαιραν ημελλεν εαυτον αναιρειν νομιζων εκπεφευγεναι τους δεσμιους	27 ἐξυπνος δε γενομενος ο δεσμοφυλαξ και ιδων ανεωγμενας τας θυρας πασας [c]πασαμενος μαχ[αι]ραν ηθελησε[ν] εαυτον κατακ[.]και νομιζων εκπεφευγεναι τους δεσμιους	27 και εξυπνος γενομενος ο δεσμοφυλαξ και ιδων ανεωγμενας τας θυρας της φυλακης και σπασαμενος την μαχαιραν εμελλεν εαυτον αναιρειν νομιζων εκπεφευγεναι τους δεσμιους
28 εφωνησεν δε Παυλος μεγαλη φωνη λεγων μηδεν πραξης σεαυτω κακον απαντες γαρ εσμεν ενθαδε	28 εφωνησεν δε αυτον Παυλος λεγων μη ταρασσου  απαντες γαρ εσμεν ενθαδε	28 εφωνησεν δε φωνη μεγαλη ο Παυλος λεγων μηδεν πραξης σεαυτω τι κακον απαντες γαρ εσμεν ενθαδε
29 αιτησας δε φωτα εισεπηδησεν και εντρομος γενομενος προσεπεσεν  τω Παυλω και Σεϊλα	29 φωτα δε αιτησας εισεπηδησεν και εντρομος υπαρχων επιπεσων  τω Παυλω και Σεϊλα	29 φωτα δε ετησας εισεπηδησεν και εντρομος υπαρχων προσεπεσεν προς τους ποδας τω Παυλω και Σεϊλα
30 και προαγαγων αυτους εξω  εφη κυριοι τι με δει ποιειν ινα σωθω	30 προαγων αυτους εξω τους λοιπους ασφαλισας προελθων εφη κυριοι τι με δει ποιειν [ι]να σωθω	30 και προηγαγεν αυτους εξω τους λοιπους ασφαλισαμενος και ειπεν αυτοις κυριοι τι με δει ποιειν ινα σωθω

In each verse a different significant characteristic is visible. In verse 27 we find ℘ differing from both manuscripts four times (placing the papyrus' readings first): (πασας] της φυλακης; μαχαιραν] την μαχαιραν; ηθελησεν] ημελλεν/εμελλεν; κατακ[.]και] αναιρειν). Verse 28 contains two distinctive variations: αυτον παυλος against παυλος μεγαλη φωνη (03) or φωνη μεγαλη ο παυλος (05) and μη ταρασσου against μηδεν πραξης σεαυτω (τι) κακον. In verse 29 it provides a variation on the text of 03 without the tautology of 05 (επιπεσων against προσεπεσεν and προσεπεσεν προς τους ποδας). Verse 30 is perhaps the most striking example in this passage: it follows 03 against 05 (εφη against και ειπεν αυτοις), has an addition with 05

against 03 but disagreeing in detail (τους λοιπους ασφαλις and τους λοιπους ασφαλιςαμενος), and differs from both in the beginning of the clause (προαγων against και προαγων αυτους and και προγαγεν).

In this short section, Codex Vaticanus contains 60 words, Codex Bezae 71, and 958. In the complete section comprised by folios 6b, 7 and 8 (16.20 ημων – 17.10 εις), the papyrus has 531 words, which compares with 523 in Codex Vaticanus and 591 in Codex Bezae. This suggests that the text of 9 possesses two characteristics that almost balance each other out so far as the length of text is concerned: against expansions similar to those found in Codex Bezae (as in verse 30), may be set a habit of tersely summarizing whole phrases, notably μη παρασσω in verse 28.

On the evidence presented here and in the commentary, it is hard to see how the bipolar concept of a two-text form of Acts can continue to be maintained. At the very least, the history of the text of Acts will need extensive revision. In the light of the degree of analysis required, the textual notes can offer only a provisional and limited assessment. Moreover, the edition of Acts currently being prepared in Münster as part of the *Editio critica maior* will involve a thorough survey of the whole tradition, along with a fresh collection of the evidence. Once that has been done, we will be in a much better position to understand the entire textual history, and the place of each witness within it. The commentary therefore concentrates on the relationship between 9's text and that of a few other older Greek manuscripts. It is based upon an automatic collation of the papyrus with transcriptions of 03 and 05. Variations in 9 against one or both of the other two are noted. Further evidence is provided from witnesses included in the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung's NT Prototypes (<http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de/>)<sup>1</sup> and in printed editions including Ropes and Nestle–Aland<sup>27, 2</sup>. Versional evidence is only mentioned where it is of particular significance.

It is worth setting out some of the main questions that will need asking in further research.

1. Most striking is the question of the relationship between 9 and Codex Bezae. Do they represent two versions independently derived from a form of text more similar to the Initial Text? Are they both derived from a more free form of text but, inevitably for a free text, showing many differences from each other? There are several ways of answering this. One is by studying those places where either one of them agrees with Codex Vaticanus against the other. Another is to

<sup>1</sup> The editors are grateful to the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung for the use of their transcriptions of 03 and 05 in NT Prototypes.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Ropes, 'The Text of Acts', in F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part 1: *The Acts of the Apostles*, iii (London 1926). B. and K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th edition, 8th (revised) impression (Stuttgart 2001). Evidence concerning Codex Sinaiticus uses the transcription prepared for the virtual edition ([www.codexsinaiticus.org](http://www.codexsinaiticus.org)).



compare  $\mathfrak{P}$  with the Latin column (d) of Codex Bezae, especially in those places where it differs from the Greek column. It has been argued that this Latin column was adapted from an existing translation derived from a somewhat different Greek base containing a shorter form of text than the Greek column of Codex Bezae (Parker, *Codex Bezae* 248-9). A study of these places could be especially valuable.

	05 (Greek)	d (Latin)	$\mathfrak{P}$
11.2	δε	omits	omits

This comes within an expansion of the text shared by the two manuscripts, and is therefore especially interesting.

11.5	εκστασει	<i>in mentis stupore</i>	[εν εκστας]ει
12.7	omits	<i>in</i>	εν
16.2	Λυστροις	<i>Lystrae</i>	[Λυ]στ[ρ]η
16.34	κυν τω οικω αυτου	<i>cum tota domu sua</i>	πανρικει
17.5	εθορυβουσαν	<i>turbabant</i>	εθο[ρ]υβο[υν]

(05 remains the only manuscript to read this form of the imperfect.)

As may be seen, this is a rather disappointing yield. Generally, it is agreements between  $\mathfrak{P}$  and the Greek of 05 against its Latin parallel that are more striking.

12.7	αι αλυσει εκ των χειρων αυτου	<i>eius catenae de manibus</i>	αι α[λυσει εκ] των [χειρων αυ]του
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d shares the word order of all other Greek witnesses, so the agreement of 05 and  $\mathfrak{P}$  is striking.

15.38	ειναι κυν	<i>adsumerent</i>	[κυν]ειναι
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In spite of the differing position of κυν, 05 and  $\mathfrak{P}$  probably agree together against d, which is best taken to represent κυνπααραλαμβανειν.

15.41	τας εντολας	<i>autem mandatum</i>	τας [εντολ]ας
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This agreement is found within a passage omitted from other witnesses.

16.1	διελθων δε	<i>pertransiens</i>	[διελθ]ων δε
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This is also in a longer reading.

16.16	κυριοις	<i>dominis suis</i>	κυριοις
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This was hitherto a singular reading in 05 (though Swanson also records the reading from 2412, a twelfth-century manuscript).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words *δια τουτου* in 05 should be taken as a separate embellishment rather than as an

16.34 επι τον  $\overline{\theta\nu}$  *in domino* επι τον  $\overline{\theta\nu}$

Again, support from  $\mathfrak{P}$  for a reading previously known only in 05.

17.1 Απολλωνιδα *Apolloniam* Απολλωνιδα

Another instance of the same.

17.5 οι δε απειθουντες *adsuptis uero* οι δε απειθουντες  
 Ιουδαιοι *iudaeis* Ιουδαιο[ι  
 συνστρεψαντες *conuertentes* συν]στρεψαντες

Yet again  $\mathfrak{P}$  reads a previous singular reading of 05.

At other places we find that  $\mathfrak{P}$  differs with both columns of 05, namely

12.7	επελαμψεν τω οικηματι	<i>refulgens illo loco</i>	[ελα]μψεν [απ αυτου] [τω οικημ]ατι
16.3	εκεινοις	<i>suis</i>	εν τω τ[οπω ]
16.14	της πολεως Θυατειρων ηκουσεν	<i>Thyatirum ciuitatis audiebat</i>	Θυγατηρ[ων] omits
16.18	ευθεως εξηλθεν	<i>eadem hora exiit</i>	omits
16.21	τα εθνη α	<i>gentem quam</i>	[εθ]η α
16.30	προηγαγεν . . . ασφαλισαμενος και ειπεν αυτοις	<i>cum produxisset . . . custodiuit et dixit illis</i>	προαγων ασφαλικας προελθων εφη
16.36	τους λογους	<i>hos sermones</i>	omits

At 12.7, neither column of 05 supports the wording found in  $\mathfrak{P}$  (see below, note ad loc.). But could the somewhat unexpected *illo* in the Latin reflect a confusion with a form of the text *ab illo*?

So much for places where the text of  $\mathfrak{P}$  is certain enough for us to be able to compare it with passages where the two columns of Codex Bezae differ. To treat the matter as a bald matter of numbers, we see that six times it agrees with the Latin against the Greek, eight with the Greek against the Latin, and on eleven occasions it differs from both. If one compares  $\mathfrak{P}$  to the two separate Greek bases from which the Bezan texts are derived, it seems that the form of text represented by  $\mathfrak{P}$  is not particularly close to either. On the other hand, the first reading at 12.7 suggests that the matter may not be so simple: *εν* agrees with the Latin *in* and also with the text of Codex Vaticanus (03). This leads to the second question.

2. It is a question that is closely related to the first. How are the two texts of 05 and  $\mathfrak{P}$  related to the text of 03? Is one closer to it than the other? Perhaps it

alternative for αυτης. Swanson = R. J. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts, Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: The Acts of the Apostles* (Sheffield and Pasadena 1998).

would be better to ask how the textual base of  $\mathfrak{P}$  (once more recent idiosyncrasies have been removed) may be related to  $\sigma_3$ . At this point the number of readings that  $\mathfrak{P}$  shares with  $\sigma_5$  against  $\sigma_3$  must lead to the general conclusion that both are descended from a similar form of text.

3. What are the distinctive characteristics of  $\mathfrak{P}$ ? One is very evident, namely, the habit of abbreviating or even omitting material:

- 10.33 ακου[ca]ι τα [προς]τετα[γμ]ενα ρο[ι]  
 10.34 αποκριθεις  
 10.42-3 τουτω παντες (omitted)  
 10.44 [ταυτα]  
 11.4 α]πο[κριθεις δε] ο Π[ε]τ[ρος ειπεν] αυ[τοις]  
 11.5 [Ιοπη] for πολει Ιοπη προσευχομενος  
 12.7 [α]υτου for του Π[ε]τρου  
 12.8 κ(αι) [περιβαλ]ου τ[ο ιματιο]ν σου  
 15.36 ειπεν δε  
 16.16 [π]ορευομενων [δ]ε ημων  
 [[η]]τις [ε]χουσα π̄να  
 16.24 παρ[α]λαβ[ων]  
 16.26 [κ]α[ι] εξ[α]π[ι]ν[η]ς [ε]γ[ενετο] ρι[σ]μ[ο]ς μεχ[α]ς  
 κα[ι] ε[σ]τ[ι]ν [α]λ[φ]η . . . [κ]αι ηνε[ω]θη[ς] [αν]  
 16.27 πασας  
 16.28 μη ταρασσει  
 16.32 αυτοις  
 16.36 αυτοις  
 απολυθητε for νυν ουν εξελθοντες πορευθαι εν ειρηνη  
 16.37 ελθοντες ουν αυτοι for ου γαρ ελθοντες αυτοι  
 16.38 απηγγειλαν δε . . . απεκαλουν  
 16.39 επιστ[ρ]αφω[σιν]  
 16.40 απολυθεντες δε  
 17.1-2 κατα δε το ειωθ[ος] Παυλος εισηλθεν εις την συναγωγην των  
 Ιουδαιων for οπου ην συναγωγή των Ιουδαιων. και κατα το  
 ειωθ[ος] ο Παυλος εισηλθεν προς αυτους ( $\sigma_5$ )  
 17.10 απελυον δια νυκτος

Omission of the following is noted:

- 12.3 εστιν after αρεστον  
 12.7 αυτον after ηγειρεν  
 15.38 απ αυτων  
 αυτοις after συνελθοντα  
 16.1 γυναικος

16.3	article before <i>Παυλος</i>
16.14	<i>πολεως</i>
16.15	<i>τω κυριω</i>
16.16	<i>υπαντησαι ημας</i> <i>αυτου</i>
16.19	<i>επι τους αρχοντας</i>
16.23	<i>αυτους</i>
16.24	<i>το</i>
16.27	<i>την</i>
16.32	<i>συν πασιν τοις εν τη οικια αυτου</i>
16.35	<i>εκεινους</i>
16.38	<i>τοις στρατηγοις</i>
17.1	<i>διοδευσαντες δε την Αμφιπολιν</i>
17.3	<i>εκ νεκρων</i>
17.4	<i>εξ</i>

We thus have an interesting phenomenon: an expanding free text that has a strong tendency to omit. That this is a common feature in manuscripts is undeniable. That it is especially marked in  $\mathfrak{P}$  is evident. This makes a striking contrast with Codex Bezae, which rarely omits.

A second feature is changes in the word order:

10.42	<i>και δια[μαρτυ]ρασθαι τ[ω λαω]</i>
10.44	<i>[το] π[̄]ν̄α το αγιον επεπ[̄]ξε[σεν]</i>
12.5	<i>[προς] το[ν θ̄ν̄] περι αυτου] ὑπ[̄]ο της εκκλησιας]</i>
12.7	<i>ιδ]ου αι α[λυσεις ε]κ των [χειρων αυ]του [εξεπεσα]ν</i>
16.3	<i>[συν]εξελθ[ειν αυτω]</i>
16.14	<i>ονο]ματ[ι] Αβ[̄]δ̄ια πο]ρφυρο[πωλις] θυγατηρ[ων]</i>
16.15	<i>μενετε εις τον οικον μου</i>
16.22	<i>[τα ιματ]ι[α] [περιρηξαντες]</i>
16.33	<i>[κα]ι εκεινη τη [ω]ρα παραλαβοντες αυτους</i>
17.1-2	<i>κατα δε το ειωθ̄ος Παυλος εις ηλθ̄εν εις την συναγωγην των Ιουδαιων (see also above)</i>

There are other changes in word order shared with 05 (e.g. 12.1 *τας χειρας Ηρωδης*).

In the following passages  $\mathfrak{P}$  shares, at least in general, distinctive readings of 05, either of rewriting or of expansion of the text (see p. 9 above).

10.33	<i>[παρα]καλ[ων ελθειν] προ[ς ημας]</i>
11.2	the whole verse
12.2	<i>[και α]νειλε[ν] (m.2 ὲν)</i>
12.7	<i>νυξας</i>

16.1	[διελθ]ων δε τ[α]
16.4	[δι]ερχομ[ενοι] . . . ε[ντολας]
16.22	[κα]ι προ[λυ]ς ο[χλο]ς επε[στη]κ[ατ αυτ]ων [επικραζο]ντες
16.35	the whole verse
16.36	[ει]σελθων δε ο δεσμοφυλαξ απ[η]γγειλεν αυτοις
16.39	the whole verse
17.4	[πολλοι των] σεβομενων [κ]αι γυναικες των πρωτων
17.5	the whole verse

A number of these readings were previously singulars in Codex Bezae. The task of analysing the differences between them in these distinctive readings will be an important task in the re-examination of the tradition.

The reading at 15.41 is a longer form of the text only partially found in Codex Bezae, but fully attested in other witnesses.

4. What is the character of the distinctive readings that are new to us from 9)? Why are they new to us? Are they similar in character to the readings it shares with 05? Again, this is too large a task to be attempted here, except to make the general observation that it is not infrequent for these readings to contain strong echoes of material found elsewhere in Acts (for example 15.30 [τα γραμ]ματα). Details are given in the commentary below. There follows a list of some of the more notable of these readings (excluding some of those abbreviations and omissions listed above; since some of the readings have compound features, it is difficult to be precise).

10.33	ακου[σα]ι τα [προς]τετα[γμ]ενα σο[ι]
10.34	απ[ο]κριθ[εις δε] Πετρος
10.40	[εποι]ησεν
10.41	[κοσμ]ω
10.42	ε[στιν ο ωρικμε]ν[ος τη βουλη και] π[ρογνωσει του θυ] (or another expansion)
11.3	με[τα αυτων]
12.3	[[προς]ε[υλλ]αβεσθαι
12.8–9	both the verses
15.30	[τα γραμ]ματα
15.39	beginning of the verse
15.41	συρο[φοινικη]ν(?)
16.3	τω τ[οπω]
16.14	[ινα] . . . [λεγ]ομε[νοις]
16.16	the whole verse
16.20	και ενεφαν[ις]αν . . . λεγο[ντες] ταρα[σς]ουσι[ν]

16.24	the whole verse
16.25	δεσμωτα[ι]
16.26	[κ]α[ι] εξαπ[ι]νης [εγ]ενετο ριςμ[ο]ς μεγ[α]ς
16.27	ηθελησε[ν]
16.28	αυτον Παυλος μη ταρσσου
16.30	τους λοιπους ασφαλιας
16.33	the whole verse
16.36	απολυθητε
16.37	most of the verse
16.40	the whole verse
17.1-4	the whole passage
17.6	[ ]σταουντες
17.8	ενεπλησαν τε θυμου
17.10	κυ[ν] τω Cιlea

5. A new historical question to be asked concerns the context in which the form of text found in  $\mathfrak{P}$  arose. The fact that it is dated to such a similar period as Codex Bezae, which has most recently been located to around 400 (Parker, *Codex Bezae* 30), is perhaps surprising, given the general assumption that texts tended to be treated more freely in the early stages of their existence. Perhaps we should be looking for a different explanation.

This introduction concludes with an example of the fresh challenges posed by  $\mathfrak{P}$ . 16.38 shows how  $\mathfrak{P}$  provides new ways of reading the textual history of Acts. The differences are most easily expressed by setting the texts of 03, 05 and  $\mathfrak{P}$  in a lined apparatus.

03	απηγγειλαν δε	τοις στρατηγοις οι ραβδουχοι τα ρηματα ταυτα	
05	απηγγειλαν δε αυτοις	στρατηγοις οι ραβδουχοι τα ρηματα ταυτα τα ρηθεντα	
$\mathfrak{P}$	απηγγειλαν δε	οι ραβδουχοι	τα ρηθεντα
03			εφοβηθησαν
05		προς τους στρατηγους οι δε ακουσαντες οτι ρωμαιο ειςιν	εφοβηθησαν
$\mathfrak{P}$	υπο του Παυλου	τοις στρατηγοις οι δε ακουσαντες	εφοβηθησαν
03	δε ακουσαντες οτι ρωμαιο ειςιν		
05			
$\mathfrak{P}$		οτι ρωμαιο{υ}ς αυτους απεκαλουν	

Here it may be said that 05 contains elements found separately in  $\mathfrak{P}$  and the commonest form of text. But one of these (τα ρηματα ταυτα τα ρηθεντα) might be an abbreviation by  $\mathfrak{P}$ . At the same time,  $\mathfrak{P}$  contains two expansions not present in 05.

It is inevitable that free texts will differ from each other almost as much as from more fixed forms of text. That we now have an example of such a different version of Acts indicates that our theories concerning the early history of the New Testament books remain provisional.

We are indebted to Dr R. A. Coles for his painstaking collation of the transcription against the original.

Folio 1a

↓ Col. i

[Col. ii lost]

- |    |                      |       |
|----|----------------------|-------|
|    | με[νος λαλησει]      | 10.32 |
|    | κοι· [εξ αυτης]      | 10.33 |
|    | ουν [επεμψα]         |       |
|    | προ[ς σε παρα]       |       |
| 5  | καλ[ων ελθειν]       |       |
|    | προ[ς ημας και]      |       |
|    | συ κα[λωσ εποι]      |       |
|    | ησα[ς εν ταχει]      |       |
|    | και ν[υν ιδου]       |       |
| 10 | παν[τες ημεις]       |       |
|    | ενω[πιον σου]        |       |
|    | ακου[σα]ι τα [προς]  |       |
|    | τετα[γμα]να σο[ι]    |       |
|    | απο τ[ου] θ[υ] απ[ο] | 10.34 |
| 15 | κριθ[εις δ]ε Ιε      |       |
|    | τρος ε[ιπεν ε]       |       |
|    | π αλη[θειας]         |       |
|    | καταλα[μβανο]        |       |
|    | μαι· οτι [ουκ ε]     |       |
| 20 | στιν προ[σωπο]       |       |
|    | λημπτη[ς ο θς]       |       |
|    | αλλα εγ [παντι]      | 10.35 |

Folio 1b

→ [Col. i lost]

Col. ii

[ c.12 ]

[ c.12 ]

[ c.6 ] ημερα

10.40

[και εποι]ησεν

5 [εμφανη] γενε

[σθαι ου π]αντι

10.41

[τω κοσμ]ω· αλλα

[τοις προ]κεχει

[ροτονη]μενοις

10 [υπο του] θυ· η

[μιν οιτ]ινες

[συνεφα]γομεν·

και συ[νε]πιο

μεν α[ντ]ω· και

15 συ[νε]στρα

[φημεν α]υτω·

[μετα τ]ο ανα

[στηναι] αυτον·

[εκ νε]κρων μ̄

20 [ημερα]ς και ενε

10.42

[τειλατ]ο [η]μιν·

[κηρυξαι] και δια

[μαρτυ]ρασθαι



Folio 2a

→ Col. i

[Col. ii lost]

- τ[ω λαω οτι ουτος] 10.42  
 ε[στιν ο ωριμε]  
 υ[ος τη βουλη και]  
 π[ρογνωσει του θυ]  
 5 κ[ριτης ζωντων]  
 κ[αι νεκρων οι] 10.43  
 π[ροφηται μαρ]  
 τ[υρουσιν αφε]  
 ς[ιν αμαρτιων]  
 10 λ[αβειν δια του]  
 ρ[νοματος αυ]  
 τ[ου παντα του]  
 π[ιστευοντα]  
 ει[ς αυτον ετι] 10.44  
 15 λ[α[λωντος του]  
 ΙΙ[ετρου ταυτα το]  
 π[να το αγιον επεπ]  
 ε[σεν επι παντας]  
 αυ[τους και εξε] 10.45  
 20 ς[ησαν οι εκ]  
 π[εριτομης πι]  
 ς[τοι οσοι εν]  
 ηλ[θον τω ΙΙε]  
 τρ[ω οτι και επι]

Folio 2b

↓ [Col. i lost]

Col. ii

[ποιουμενο]ς 11.2

[δια των χωρ]ων

[διδασκων α]υτους

[ος και κατηντ]η

5 [σεν εις Ιερ]οσο

[λυμα και απη]γ

[γειλεν αυτ]οις

[την χαριν τ]ου

[θν̄ οι εκ περιτ]ο

10 [μης οντες αδ]ελ

[φοι διεκρινο]ν

[το προς αυτο]ν

[λεγοντες οτ]ι

11.3

[εισελθων πρ]ος

15 [ανδρας ακρο]βυ

[στιαν εχον]τας

[συνεφαγεσ] με

[τα αυτων α]πο

11.4

[κριθεις δε] ο Πε

20 [τρος ειπεν] αυ

[τοις εγω ημ]ην

11.5

[εν Ιοππη κ(αι) ει]δον

[εν εκστας]ει

Folio 3a

↓ Col. i

Βαρ[ναβα και Καυ] 11.30

λου [κατ εκεινον] 12.1

δε τ[ον καιρον]

επε[βαλεν τας]

5 χει[ρας Ηρωδης]

ο βα[σιλευς κα]

κω[και τινας]

των [απο της]

εκκ[λησιας εν τη]

10 Ἰου[δαια και αν] 12.2

m.2 υ̅ειλε[ν Ιακωβον]

τον [αδελφον]

Ἰωα[ννου εν]

μα[χαира και] 12.3

15 ἴδω[ν οτι αρε]

ε̅τρο[ν τοις Ιου]

δαιο[ις η επιχει]

ρης[ις αυτου]

ε̅πι τ[ου]ς πιστους

20 ηθε[λησεν και]

τον [Πε]τρον

[[προς]]'υ̅λλ]αβεσθαι·

ησαν [δ]ε ημεραι

Col. ii

[ εν τη φυ] 12.5

λ[ακη προσευχη]

20 δε [ην εν εκτενεια]

γε[ινομενη προς]

το[ν θ̅ν̅ περι αυτου]

υ̅π[ο της εκκλησιας]

Folio 3b

→ Col. i

[επεστη τ]ω  
 20 [Πετρω κ]αι το  
 [φως ελα]μψεν  
 [επ αυτου] εν  
 [τω οικημ]ατι·

12.7

Col. ii

[νυξας δε] την  
 [πλευραν α]υτου  
 [ηγειρεν] λεγων  
 [αναστα ε]ν τα  
 5 [χει και ιδ]ου αι α  
 [λυσεις ε]κ των  
 [χειρων αυ]του  
 [εξεπεσα]ν· ει  
 [πεν δε ο] αγγε  
 10 [λος τω Π]ετρω·  
 [ζωσαι κ]αι υπο  
 [δησαι τα] υπο  
 [δηματα σ]ου· κ(αι)  
 [περιβαλ]ου τ[ο]  
 15 [ματιο]ν σου·  
 [και λαβο]μενος  
 [τον Πετρον] προ  
 [ηγαγεν ε]ξω ει  
 πων [ακ]ολου  
 20 θει μ[οι ο] δε Πε  
 τρος η[κο]λου  
 θει μη [ει]δωσ  
 ει αλη[θε]ς εστι

12.8

12.9

Folio 4a

→ Col. i

Col. ii

6	.[	15.29		
	δ[ιατηρουν]			
	τες [εαυτους εν]			
	πρα[ξετε εν ο]	15.30		
10	λιγαις [δε ημε]			
	ραις ο[			
	δε[		[ ]..[	15.34
	εις Αν[τιοχειαν]		[αυτ]ου μο[νος]	
	και συν[αγαγον]		[δε] Ἰουδας επο	
15	τες το [πληθος επ]		15 [ρευ]θη ο δε Παυ	15.35
	εδωκ[αν τα γραμ]		[λο]ς και Βαρνα	
	ματα ο[	15.31	[βα]ς διετριβον	
	.....[		[εν] Αντιοχεια	
			[διδ]ασκο[ντ]ες	
			20 [κα]ι ευαγγελιζο	
			[με]νοι μετα κ(αι)	
			[ετ]ερων πολλων	
			[το]ν λογον του	
			[κν] ειπεν δε	15.36

Folio 4b

↓ Col. i

[ ] . . [ 15.37  
 [Μαρ]κον· Πα[υλος] 15.38  
 δε ουκ ηβο[υλε]  
 15 το λεγων· [τον]  
 αποστατης[αν]  
 τα απο Παμ[φυ]  
 λιας και μη [cυν]  
 ελθ[ο]ντα ει[c το]  
 20 εργ[ο]ν εφ' ο [ε]  
 πεμφθησα[ν]  
 τουτον μη [cυν]  
 ειναι αυτοι[c]  
 εκ τουτου [ ] 15.39

Col. ii

7 [υπο των αδελ]φων 15.40  
 [διηρχετο δε] Κυρο 15.41  
 [φουικη]ν επι  
 10 [στηριζ]ων τας  
 [εκκλη]σιας· πα  
 [ραδιδο]υς τας  
 [εντολ]ας φυλας  
 [κειν τ]ων απο  
 15 [στολω]ν και των  
 [πρεσβ]υτερων·  
 [διελθ]ων δε τ[α] 16.1

Folio 5a

↓	Col. i		[Col. ii lost]
	νοματ[ι Τιμοθεος]	16.1	
	υιος Ιο[υδαιας]		
	πιστης [πρ̄ς δε]		
	Ελλην[ος ος]	16.2	
5	εμαρτ[υρειτο]		
	περι τ[ων εν Λυ]		
	στ[ρ]η κ[αι Ικο]		
	ν[ι]ω μ[αθητων]		
	τουτο[ν ηθελη]	16.3	
10	εν Π[αυλος εν]		
	εξελθ[ειν αυτω]		
	και λαβ[ων πε]		
	[ρ]ιεξε[μεν αυτον]		
	[δ]ια το[υς Ιουδαι]		
15	ους τ[ους οντας]		
	εν τω τ[οπω δι]	16.4	
	ερχομ[ενοι δε]		
	τας πο[λεις εκη]		
	ρυσ[σον μετα]		
20	παρ[ρησιας τον]		
	κν̄ [Ιν̄ Χν̄ αμα πα]		
	ρ[αδιδοντες κ(αι)]		
	τας εντολας]		
	των [αποστολων]		
	και π[ρεσβυτε]		

Folio 5b

→[Col. i lost]

Col. ii

- [ευχη ε]ιναι· κ(αι)· κα 16.13  
 [θικαν]τες συν  
 [ελαλο]υν ταις  
 [cυνελ]ηλυθι  
 5 [αις γυ]γαιξιν·  
 [και ην τι]ς γυνη 16.14  
 [ceβομ]ενη τον  
 [θν ονο]ματ[ι] Δυ  
 [δια πο]ρφυρο  
 10 [πωλις] Θυγατηρ  
 [ων . . .]· c· ης ο  
 [κc διη]γοιξεν  
 [την κα]ρδιαν  
 [ινα πιστ]ευση  
 15 [τοις λεγ]ομε  
 [γοις υ]πο του  
 [Παυλου] ητις 16.15  
 [εβαπτισ]θη· κ(αι)  
 [ c.8 ]· πα  
 20 [ c.8 ] . . .  
 [ c.7 ]· πα  
 [ρεκαλεσεν λε]  
 [γουςα ει] κεκρι  
 [κατε με π]ιστην  
 25 [ειναι ε]ιςελ



Folio 6a

→Col. i

θοντες μενε  
 τε εις τον οικον  
 μου και παρε  
 βιασατο ημας  
 5 [π]ορευομενων 16.16  
 [δ]ε ημων εν τη  
 προσευχη (m.2) παιδικη' [[η]]τις  
 [ε]χουσα π̄να (m.2) πυ'  
 [.] [.] (m.2) [θ]ωνοσ' (m.1) η̄τις πολ  
 10 [λ]ην ερχασ[ι]αυ  
 παρειχεν τοις  
 κυριοις δια του  
 του μαντευο  
 μενη. κατακο 16.17  
 15 λουθο[υ]σα α[υ]  
 τ[η] πολ[λα] ημων  
 ε[κρα]ζεν λε[γου]  
 σ[α] ουτοι οι δου  
 λο[ι] το[υ] υ[ψι]στ[ο]υ  
 20 ειςιν [οι]τινες  
 καταχ[γε]λλου  
 cin ηυμ[ιν] οδον  
 σωτηριας κ(αι) 16.18  
 τουτο εποιει  
 25 ημεραις ικα  
 ναις vacat

Col. ii

επ[ι]σ[τ]ρεψ[α]σ δε  
 ο Πα[υ]λος τ[ω] π̄νι  
 και [δ]ιαπο[νη]  
 [θει]ς ειπε[ν] πα  
 5 ρ[αγγ]ελλω [σοι]  
 ε[ν] τ[ω] ονο[μα]  
 τι [Iv Xv ε]ξ̄ε[λθε]  
 εξ̄ [αυτη]ς· [ω]σ δε ει 16.19  
 δο[ν] οι κυρι[ο]ι αυ  
 10 τη[ς] οτι ε[ξ]ηλ  
 θε[ν] [ c.8 ]  
 αδ. [ c.8 ]  
 της [εργασιας]  
 ρ[ε]  
 15 [ ]  
 ης [ειχαν δι] αυ  
 της [ε]πιλαβο  
 με[ν]οι τον Παυ  
 λον [κ]αι Cιλεαν  
 20 ηγα[γο]ν εις την  
 αγορ[αν]· και ενε 16.20  
 φαν[ι]σαν το[ι]ς  
 στρα[τη]γοις  
 λεγο[ν]τες οτι  
 25 οι αν̄[οι] ουτοι  
 παρα[σ]ουσι[ν]

Folio 6b

↓ Col. i

[η]μων την πο  
 [λν] Ιουδα[ι]οι υ  
 [πα]ρχοντ[ε]ς κ[α]ι 16.21  
 [κα]ταγγελ[λου]ςιν  
 5 [εθ]η α ου[κ η]μιν  
 [εξε]στιν [παρ]αδε  
 [ξα]ςθα[ι ουτε] ποι  
 [ειν] Ρω[μαι]οις ü  
 [παρ]χο[υ]σιν κα[ι] πο 16.22  
 10 [λν]ς ο[χλο]ς επε  
 [στη] κ[ατ] αυτ[ων]  
 [επικραζο]ντες  
 [τοτε] οι σ[τρα]  
 [τηγοι] τα ματ[ι]α[ι]  
 15 [περιρηξαντες]  
 ε[κελ]ευ[ον ρ]αβδ[ι]  
 ζειν· κα[ι] π[ολ]  
 16.23  
 λας επι[θε]ντ[ε]ς  
 πληχας [εβ]αλο[ν]  
 20 εις φυλ[α]κην  
 παρηγ[γε]λαν  
 τες τω δε[εμ]οφν  
 λακι α[σφ]αλω[σ]  
 τηρειν [ο] δε δε 16.24  
 25 σμοφυ[λα]ξ πα  
 ρ[α]λαβ[ων] α[ν]του

Col. ii

εβαλεν εις την  
 φυλακην την ε  
 σωτερω· και τους  
 ποδας αυτων  
 5 ησφαλισατο [ει]ς  
 ξυλον· κατ[α] δε 16.25  
 μεσην νυκτα  
 ο Παυλος και Σι  
 λεας π[ρ]ορευ[χο]  
 10 μενο[ι] υμνο[υν]  
 τον θν· επη[κρο]  
 ωντο δε αυ[των]  
 οι δεσμοτα[ι] κ[α]ι 16.26  
 εξαπ[ι]νης [εγ]ε  
 15 νετο σιμι[ο]ς  
 μεχ[α]ς· κα[ι] ε[σ]α  
 λ[ε]υ[θη] [τα θεμ]ε  
 λα π[αντα] κ[α]ι  
 ηνε[ωχ]θη[σαν]  
 20 αι θυ[ραι] πασαι·  
 και π[α]ντων τα  
 δεσμα ανεθη·  
 εξυπνος δε γε 16.27  
 νομενος ο δε  
 25 σμοφυλαξ· και  
 ιδων αρεωγωμε

Folio 7a

 $\overline{\rho\iota\beta}$ 

↓	Col. i	Col. ii	
	νας τας θυρας	[ι]γα σωθω οι	16.31
	πασας [c]πασα	δε ε[ι]πον [αυ]τω	
	μενος μαχ[αι]	πιστευς[ο]ν ε	
	ραν ηθελησε[ν]	πι τον κ̄ν̄ Ῑν̄ κ(αι)	
5	εαυτον κατακ[.]	5 [c]ωθης[η c]υ κ(αι)	
	και νομιζων	ο οικος σου· κ(αι)	16.32
	εκπεφευγεναι	ελαλησαν αυτοις	
	τους δεσμιους·	τον [λ]ογον του	
	εφωνησεν δε	κ̄ν̄ [κα]ι εκεινη	16.33
10	αυτον Παυλος	10 τη [ω]ρα παραλα	
	λεγων μη ταρας	βοντες αυτους	
	σου· απαντες	ελουσαν απο	
	γαρ εσμεν εν	των πληγων·	
	θαδε· φωτα δε	και εβαπτισθη	
15	αιτησας εις	15 αυτος και παν	
	πηδησεν· και	τες οι παρ αυτου·	
	εντρομος υπαρ	και [α]γαγαγον	16.34
	χων επιπεσων	τες [α]υτους εις	
	τω Παυλω και	τον οικον πα	
20	Σιλεα προα[μ.2]γαγων	20 ρεθηκαν τραπε	
	αυτους εξω· τους	ζαν· και ηγαλλι	
	λοιπους ασφα	ατο πανοικει	
	λικας· προελθων	πεπιστευκως	
	εφη κυριοι· τι	επι τον θ̄ν̄ γε	16.35
25	με δει ποιειν	25 νομενης δε	

Folio 7b

→ Col. i

ημερας συνηλ  
 θο[ν] οι στρατη  
 γοι επ[ι τ]ο αυτο  
 εις την αγορα[ν]  
 5 και [αν]αμνη  
 θεντες το[υ]  
 γεγομενου  
 σειςμου εφο  
 βηθησα[ν κ]α[ι]  
 10 αποστειλ[λο]υσι  
 τους ραβδου  
 χους λεγοντες  
 τω δεσμοφυ  
 λακι απολυσον  
 15 τους ανου  
 ους εχθες πα  
 ρελαβες [ει]σελ  
 θων δε ο δεσμο  
 φυλαξ απ[η]γγει  
 20 λεν αυτοις οτι  
 απεσταλκασι  
 οι στρατηγοι α  
 πολυθημαι υ  
 μας απολυθη  
 25 τε ο δε Παυλος  
 προς αυτους

16.36

16.37

Col. ii

ειπεν ακαται  
 τιαστου δειραν  
 [τ]εσ ημασ δημο  
 [ε]ια εβαλον εις  
 5 την φυλακην  
 υ[π]αρχοντασ  
 Ρωμαιοσ και  
 νυν λαθρα εκ  
 βαλλουσι ημασ  
 10 ελθοντες ουν  
 αυτοι επαγαγε  
 τωσαν ημασ α  
 16.38 πηγγειλαν δε  
 οι ραβδουχοι τα  
 15 ρηθειτα υπο  
 του Παυλου τοις  
 στρατηγοις οι  
 δε ακουσαντες  
 εφοβηθησαν  
 20 οτι Ρωμαιο(m.2)υ  
 αυτοσ απεκα  
 16.39 λουν παραγε  
 νομενοι τε με  
 τα ικανων φι  
 25 λων επι την  
 φυλακην πα

Folio 8a

→ Col. i

ρεκαλε[ς]αν αυ  
 τους εξελθειν·  
 ειποντες ηγνο  
 ησαμεν τα κ[α]  
 5 θ υμας οτι ε[στε]  
 ανδρες δικα[ιοι]  
 εκ ταυτης δε  
 πολεως εξ[ελ]  
 θετε μ[η]π[οτε]  
 10 επιστ[ρ]αφω[σιν]  
 παλι οι επικρα  
 ζοντες καθ υ  
 μων· απολυ  
 15 θεντες δε ηλ  
 θον εις την Λυ  
 διαν· και ιδον  
 τες τους αδ[ελ]  
 φους διη[γ]ησαν  
 το οσα εποιη  
 20 σεν κ̄τ̄ αυτοις·  
 και πα[ρ]ε[μ.2]α'καλε  
 σαντες αυτους  
 εξησαν· και  
 17.1 κατη[[η]]λθον  
 25 εις Απολλω

Col. ii

νιδα· εκειθεν  
 δε εις [Θ]εσσα[λο]  
 νικην· κατα δε  
 17.2 το ειωθδς Παυ  
 5 λος εισηλθεν  
 εις την συνα  
 χωγην των Ἰ  
 ουδαιων· επι  
 ραββατα τρια δια  
 10 [λεγο]μενος αυ  
 τοις εκ των γρα  
 φων και διανοι  
 17.3 γων και παρα  
 τιθ[ε]μενος ο  
 15 τ[ι το]ν χ̄ν̄ εδ[ει]  
 π[αθειν και α]  
 ν[αστηναι και]  
 ο[τι ουτος εστιν]  
 χ̄[τ̄] Ἰ[σ]ον εγω κα]  
 20 τ[αγγελλω υμιν]  
 κ[αι τινες αυτων]  
 17.4 ε[πεισθησαν κ(αι)]  
 π[ροσεκληρω]  
 θ[ησαν τη διδα]  
 25 χ[η πολλοι των]

## Folio 8b

↓ Col. i	Col. ii	
ξεβομενων Ε[λ]	στατουντες ου	
[λ]ηγων πληθ[ο]ς	τοι ειειν· και εν	
πολυ· [κ]αι γυναι	θαδε παρειειν·	
κες των πρω	[ου]ς υποδε[δ]εκ	17.7
5 των ο[υ]κ ολι[θ]α[ι]	5 [α]τος ο Ιακων·	
οι δε απειθουν	[κ]αι ουτοι παντες	
τες Ιουδαιο[ι]ων	[α]πεναντι των	
στρεψαντες τ[ι]	[δ]ογματων Κα[ι]	
νας ανδρ[α]ς τ[ων]	[α]ρροσ πρασσο[ι]ων	
10 αγοραιω[ν] πολ	10 [ω]ς βα[α]λεα λε	
λους εθο[ρ]υβο[υ]	γοντες τινα πο	
την πολιν· και	τε Ιν· ενεπλη	17.8
επισταντες τη	καν τε θυμου	
οικ[ια] Ιακωνος	τους πολιταρχας	
15 εξ[η]των [αυ]του	15 και τον οχλον	
[εξαγαγειν εις]	ακουοντας των	
[τον δημον μ]η	τα· οι μεν ουν	17.9
[ευροντες δε αυ]	π[ολι]ταρχαι ικα	
[τους εσυρον Ια]ο	νον λαβοντες	
20 να και τινας αδ[ελ]	20 παρα του Ιακωνο[ς]	
[φους επι τους πο]	και των λοιπων[ν]	
[λιταρχας βω]ν	απελυσαν· οι δε[ε]	17.10
[τες και λεγο]ν	αδελφοι απελυ	
[τες οτι οι την οι]	ον δια νυκτος	
25 [κουμενην αν]α	25 τον Παυλον συ[ν]	
	τω Σελεα εις Βε	

For an explanation of the parameters of this commentary, see the end of the introduction. Note that the phrase 'other witnesses' does not indicate all other witnesses, but those which have been included in this survey.

Where there is no explicit comment, punctuation is considered to be by the first hand.

Fol. 1a, col. i

(10.32)

1-2 με[ρος λαλησει] σοι. The extant letters of the first two lines represent a reading present in most witnesses, including 05, but not followed by 03; the addition of ος παραγενομενος λαλησει σοι. For a full list of the evidence see K. Aland et al. (eds.), *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des*

*Neuen Testaments*, III.1 *Die Apostelgeschichte* I (ANTF 20-21; Berlin and New York 1993) 503-5 (where however the readings 1 and 1B are reversed with respect to the readings *λαλήσει* and *λαλήσαι*).

2 Point probably *m. 2*.

(10.33)

4-6  $\mathfrak{B}$  is reconstructed as [παρα]καλ[ων ελθειν] προ[ς ημας], the reading of 05\*, with corresponding readings in versions including the Harklean margin and *mac. 03* omits.

6-7 προ[ς ημας και] εν. The reconstruction assumes that the absence of τε (03) or δε (05) requires *καί*.

8 The reconstruction εν ταχει follows the text of 05 (note that παραγενομενος is read at the end of the previous verse; see above, 1-2 n.).

9 Reconstruction of και ν[υν ιδου] (cf. 13.11; 20.22, 25) prefers the slightly longer reading of 05 (05<sup>A</sup>, 05\* reads δου, 05<sup>C</sup> ουν) to νυν ουν (03). The reading ιδου should be taken with the omission of παρεσμεν after θεου later in the verse as a possible Semitism (cf. Ropes ad loc.; Moulton-Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* iii 296, 305).

11 ενω[πιον σου]. The restoration of του θεου (almost all witnesses) can hardly be said to be more probable than the alternative σου (05\* d vg sy<sup>p</sup> *mac*).

12-13 ακου[σα]ι τα [προσ]τετα[γμ]ενα σο[φ]ι is a distinctive reading.  $\mathfrak{B}$  evidently omits both παντα (found in 02 after σοι and in  $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$   $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  01 03 and most other witnesses before τα) and τα itself, as well as βουλομενοι παρα σου found in 05\*. It thus has a shortened form of the text compared to that found in 03.

14 απο is found also in  $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$   $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  01<sup>Ca</sup> 02 04 05, υπο in 01\* 03 and most other witnesses (παρα 08). θυ. θεου is read by  $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  05 and the Byzantine majority. The alternative reading is κυριου.

(10.34)

14-16 απ[ο]κριθ[εις δ]ε Πετρος is otherwise unattested in the Greek tradition. Other witnesses read ανοιξας δε Πετρος το στομα (ανοιξας δε το στομα Πετρος  $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$  05). The reading of  $\mathfrak{B}$  provides a possible Greek source for the reading as it is found in a Syriac fragment. See C. Perrot, 'Un fragment christo-palestinien découvert à Khirbet Mird, Actes des Apôtres x: 28-29; 32-41', *Revue biblique* 70 (1963) 506-55.

14, 19 Points *m. 2*.

18-19 καταλα[μβανο]μαι: καταλαμβανομενος 05\*.

20-21 προσωποληπτης is the spelling of the majority of older witnesses; προσωποληπτης is read by 03<sup>C2</sup> and some other manuscripts.

(10.35)

22 αλλα rather than αλλ also 02.

Fol. 1b, col. ii

(10.40)

3 ημερα.  $\mathfrak{B}$  may have read either μετα την τριτην ημεραν (05) or (εν) τη τριτη ημερα (other witnesses), since the papyrus is lost where a superline over the alpha would be. But since there are no examples of superline for final nu, (εν) τη τριτη ημερα is more probable.

4 εποι]ησεν is otherwise unattested (εδωκεν other witnesses). ποιω is found for διδωμι in 05 at Mk 3.6; 13.22; Lk 12.51. Hitherto unattested also is the omission of αυτον (αυτω 05), a lost τουτον at the beginning of the verse presumably standing as object both for this verb and for ηγειρεν.

(10.41)

7 κοσμ]ω. λαω all other witnesses, but [λα] is too short for the space. [κοσμ] is supplied as a likely fit (cf. 2.47, where 05 reads κοσμω instead of λα).

7, 10, 16, 18 Points *m. 2*.

12, 14 Points probably *m. 2*.

13 There may be a trace of epsilon on a piece of papyrus that is bent over.

14-16 *και συν[ανέ]στρα[φημεν]* with D<sup>B</sup> (a corrector of the first half of the fifth century): *και συνεστραφημεν* (05<sup>8</sup>):  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$   $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  01 02 03 04 08 omit. The Old Latin, Harklean Syriac, Sahidic and mae also contain the added phrase.

19-20  $\bar{\mu}$  [*ημερα*].c.  $\bar{\mu}$  is read by 05, *δι ημερων τεσσερακοντα* by 08. The Old Latin, Harklean Syriac, Sahidic and mae also attest the phrase. Use of a numeral instead of the full word is a common feature of Greek New Testament manuscripts.

## (10.42)

20-21 *ενε[τειλατ]ο* is restored with 05. All other witnesses read *παρηγγειλεν*.

21 Point *m. 2*.

22-fol. 2a, col. i. There is no other Greek support for the word order *και δια[μαρτυ]ρασθαι τ[ω] λαω*. Other witnesses read *τω λαω και διαμαρτυρασθαι*.

Fol. 2a, col. i

4 Since other witnesses read *θεου κριτης*,  $\mathfrak{P}$  evidently contained an addition, of which only the first letter survives. One possibility is that lines 3-4 contained a remodelling based on 2.23, *τουτον τη ωρικμενη βουλη και προγνωσει του θεου*. Although quite a long conjecture, it is followed in the reconstruction.

## (10.43)

6  $\mathfrak{P}$  appears to have omitted *τουτω παντες*. There is only space for *οι* or perhaps *οι δε*.

## (10.44)

16 *ταυτα* (restored). All other witnesses read *τα ρηματα ταυτα*. Abbreviation to *ταυτα* fits the available space.

16-19 *ταυτα το*  $\bar{\pi}$ [ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$  *το αγιον επεπ]* $\epsilon$ [*εν επι παντας*] *αυ[τους]*. The reconstruction is otherwise unattested, being a variation in word order from *επεπεσεν το πνευμα το αγιον* (preferring *επεπεσεν* to the *επεσεν* of 02 05), followed by an abbreviation of *επι παντας τους ακουοντας τον λογον*.

## (10.45)

22 The restoration of *οκοι* (01 03) fits the available space.

22-3 *συν]ηλ[θον]*. Restoration with *-ον* (*συνηλθον*  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  02 05 08 al, *-αν* 01 03 al) accords with the evidence from elsewhere in the papyrus (cf. 17.1).

Fol. 2b, col. ii

## (11.2)

1-12 The column begins within an expanded version of verse 2. It seems to have had a very similar version to 05. This consists of a revision of the first half of the verse as it appears in  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  01 03, which includes a lengthy insertion. Support for the longer reading includes 05, the Middle Egyptian version, the Harklean Syriac (obelized) and some Latin witnesses. The text of 05 fits in as the reconstruction, with three differences:

(i) 4-6 for *κατηντησεν αυτοις* (05),  $\mathfrak{P}$  reads [*κατηντ]η[σεν εις Ιερ]οσο[λυμα]*, a reading shared with the Middle Egyptian.

(ii) 9  $\mathfrak{P}$  is unlikely to have agreed with 05 in inserting *δε* after *οι*, since there seems too little space for it. Note that if this was so, then it agreed with d against 05.

(iii) 10 In the final part of the verse, there is space in  $\mathfrak{P}$  for an extra word between *περιτ]ο[μης]* and [*αδ]ελ[φοι]*; *οντες* (see 11.1 (not 05, but d reads *erant*)) seems likely.

For a full statement of all text forms here, see *Text und Textwert* 508-11.

## (11.3)

17 [*συνεφαγεσ*]. One could restore either *συνεφαγεν* ( $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  03) or *συνεφαγεσ* (01 05 other wit-



nesses). There is unlikely to have been enough room for *και*, even as a compendium. This suggests the reading *εισελθων . . . συνεφαγεσ*.

17–18 *με[τα αυτων]*: *συν αυτοις* 05\*: *αυτοις* other witnesses.

## (11.4)

18–21 *αυτων α]πο[κριθεις δε] ο Πε[τρος ειπεν] αυ[τοις]*.  $\mathfrak{P}$  has a distinctive version of this introduction to Peter's speech. 03 05 and other witnesses read *αρξαμενος δε πετρος εξετιθετο αυτοις (+ τα 05) καθεξης λεγων*. The version in  $\mathfrak{P}$  is a simplification to a formula that is common in the Gospels and Acts.

## (11.5)

22 There is no room for *πολει* (found after *Ιοπηη* in 05 and before it in other witnesses), even with *και*-compendium in the reconstruction. Elsewhere in Acts *πολις* is not used with *Ιοπηη* (9.36, 38, 42, 43; 10.5, 8, 23, 32, 11.13).

*προσευχομενος* after *Ιοπηη* is omitted with 01\*.

23 05\* omits *εν* before *εκστασει*.

Fol. 3a, col. i

## (12.1)

4–6 *τας] χει[ρας Ηρωδης] ο βα[σιλευς]*. The word order with *τας χειρας* before *Ηρωδης* is shared with 05. Most witnesses read *Ηρωδης ο βασιλευς τας χειρας (ο βασιλευς Ηρωδης τας χειρας 01)*. 9–10  $\mathfrak{P}$  agrees with 05 in defining the persecution more clearly with *εν τη Ιουδαια*.

## (12.2)

10–11 [*και αν]ειλε[ν]* (*m.2 v'*) restored with 05: *αειλεν δε* other witnesses.

13 There is space at the end of the line for an otherwise unattested word of up to three letters. *εν* has been supplied (see Lk 22.49).

14 One may restore either *μα[χαιρη]* (03\* 05<sup>C</sup> etc.) or *μα[χαιρα]* (03<sup>C</sup> 05\*).

## (12.3)

14–15 *και] ιδω[ν]* restored with 05 and most other witnesses: *ιδων δε* 01 03 08.

16  $\mathfrak{P}$  agrees with 01\* in error, omitting *εστιν* after *αρεστον*.

17–19 *η επιχειρησεις αυτου επι τους πιστους* is read by 05, as well as three Old Latin witnesses, the Harklean Syriac and Middle Egyptian (reads 'Christians' instead of 'faithful').

20 *ηθε[λησ]εν: προσεθετο* other witnesses. Schenke conjectured *προσθεις ηθελησεν* behind the reading of the Middle Egyptian. Compare also  $\mathfrak{P}$  at 16.27, where it uses *ηθελησεν* against other witnesses, also in a context of doing to death. For a full statement of all text forms here, see *Text und Textwert* 511–13.

21–2 *τον [Πε]τρον [[προς]]ς[υλλ]αβεσθαι*. Other witnesses read *συλλαβειν και Πετρον*. For the use of the middle, compare 26.21.

23  $\mathfrak{P}$  agrees with  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$  03 and other witnesses against 05 and the majority of manuscripts in not including *αι* before *ημεραι*.

Fol. 3a, col. ii

## (12.5)

20 The restoration *ην εν εκτενεια* follows 05. *ην εκτενωσ* (*ην εκτενης* is also found) is a little short, but possible.

21 *γε[νομενη]* is restored (read by e.g. 03), but some manuscripts read *γενομενη* (*teste* Tischendorf).

21–3 The word order is best reconstructed as *προς] το[ν θ(εο)ν περι αυτου] υπ[ο της εκκλησιας]*. 03 reads *υπο της εκκλησιας περι αυτου*, omitting *προς τον θεον*, 05\* *περι αυτου απο της εκκλησιας*

προς τον θεον, and 02\* υπο της εκκλησιας προς τον θεον υπ αυτου. Although the reconstructed text is not attested elsewhere, it is of a piece with the other readings.

Fol. 3b, col. i

(12.7)

19-20 τ]ω [Πετροω is also read by 05 and versional evidence, notably the Peshitta and Harklean (obelized), the Middle Egyptian and it<sup>P</sup>.

21 The space suits ελα]μψεν (επελαμψεν 05, subsequently omitting εν, present in 9).

22 There is some versional support for the equivalent of απ αυτου (Harklean margin and it<sup>P</sup> 8<sup>16</sup> Lucif, the position varying). Some minuscules read επ αυτου for εν τω οικηματι. The reconstruction follows the Greek reading.

23 Point m. 2.

Fol. 3b, col. ii

1 νυξας restored with 05 (cf. also it<sup>816</sup> Lucif mae). There is no space for παταξας (cett.).

2 All other witnesses read του Πετρον; α]ντου may be intended to avoid repetition of the name.

3 All other witnesses read αυτον after ηγειρεν. Is it omitted because αυτου was used in the previous line?

5 ιδ]ου may be supported by the Middle Egyptian. και ιδου is read at the beginning of the verse (9 being missing).

5-8 αι α]λυσει ε]κ των [χειρων αυ]του [εξεπεσα]ν. The word order is otherwise unattested: 05 reads εξεπεσαν αι αλυσει εκ των χειρων αυτου; 9<sup>74</sup> 01 02 03 etc. εξεπεσαν αυτου αι αλυσει εκ των χειρων.

8 Point m. 2.

(12.8)

9 δε restored *exempli gratia*; τε (9<sup>74</sup> 01 02) is equally possible.

10 τω Π]ετροω; προς αυτον all other witnesses. The variant may be linked to those at lines 2 and 3.

10, 13, 15 Points m. 2.

12-13 υπο[δηματα: κανδαλια all other witnesses. 9 substitutes the more common NT word (κανδαλιον is only found in the printed text here and Mk 6.9). υποδησαι immediately before is an obvious cause of the reading.

13-15 κ(αι) [περιβαλ]ου τ[ο ματιω]ν ζου. This is a considerable abbreviation. 9<sup>74</sup> 01 02 03 05 etc. read εποικησεν δε ουτως και λεγει αυτω περιβαλου το ματιον σου. it<sup>P</sup> reads *et circumda te uestimentum tuum et sequere me. fecit autem sic*. Further down (lines 18-20) 9 inserts ειπων [ακ]ολουθει μ[οι] after ε]ξω.

(12.8-9)

16-20 και λαβο]μενος [τον Πετρον] προ[ηγαγεν] ε]ξω ειπων [ακ]ολουθει μ[οι]. Immediately after abbreviating a phrase, 9 expands. Other witnesses read και ακολουθει μοι και εξελθων. Compare 16.30 in 05, και προηγαγεν αυτους εξω (where 9 has προαγαγων αυτους εξω).

(12.9)

21 9 builds its own version around the common word ηκολουθει, adding ο δε Πετρος before it and substituting μη ειδωσ ει for και ουκ ηδει οτι. Other manuscripts have little variation, except for αυτω added after ηκολουθει in 01<sup>C</sup> and other witnesses.

Fol. 4a, col. i

(15.29)

Unfortunately 9 resumes in the middle of this important verse, so we cannot know whether it read και πνικτων (most witnesses) or omitted it (so 05), nor whether it contained the Golden Rule (read by 05 1739 al, obelized in the Harklean Syriac).

9 *πρα[ξετε. παραξαιτε* (9<sup>74</sup> 04 05) and *πραξητε* are also read. The papyrus does not share the reading of 05 that follows this word (*φερομενοι εν τω αγιω πνευματι*), and is alone in omitting *ερρωσθε*.

(15.30)

9-12 [*εν ο*]λιγαις [*δε ημε*]ραις is most closely matched in 05, which reads *εν ημεραις ολιγαις*. The subsequent text is a puzzle. The wording *ο[ντοι οι α]|δε[λφοι ηλθον]* would fit the space. Other witnesses read *οι μεν ουν απολυθεντες* (here 05 adds *εν ημεραις ολιγαις*) *κατηλθον* (*ηλθον ο8*).

16-17 *τα γραμ[ματα]* is otherwise unattested, but found at Acts 28.21. Other witnesses read *την επιστολην*.

17-18 ο[ is evidence that the manuscript had an addition before the first word of the next verse (*αναγγοντες*). The natural guess would be *ο[ι δε αναγ]|νοντες [εχαρη]σαν*. Nu in line 18 is a possible reading, but the rest cannot be read.

Fol. 4a, col. ii

(15.34)

13-14 9 resumes in the middle of a reading found in the form *εδοξε δε τω Σειλα επιμειναι αυτους μονος δε Ιουδασ επορευθη* in 05; *εδοξε . . . Σελα . . . αυτους* 04 1739 (reads *αυτου*); 9<sup>74</sup> 01 02 03 etc. omit it.

(15.35)

15-16 ο δε Παν[λο]ς with 05: *Παυλος δε* other witnesses.

21 *μετα κ(αι)* with most witnesses: *και μετα* 05\*.

(15.36)

24 *ειπεν δε* suggests that 9 abbreviated the beginning of the verse. Other witnesses read *μετα δε τινας ημερας ειπεν*.

Fol. 4b, col. i

(15.38)

13, 15 Points probably *m. i.*

14-15 *ουκ ηβο[υλε]το λεγων*: *ουκ εβουλετο λεγων* 05; *ηξιου* other witnesses.

16-17 *αποστ[ατη]ς[αν]τα* with 02: *αποστησαντα* 05; *αποσταντα* 01 03.

17 After the participle, all other witnesses have *απ αυτων*.

19 05 also omits *αυτοις* after *ενελθοντα*.

20-21 *εφ ο [ε]πεμφθησα[ν]*: *εις ο επεμφθησαν* 05 (*in quo missi erant d*). No other witness contains this clause.

22-3 *τουτον μη [εν]ειναι αυτοι[ς]*: *τουτον μη ειναι εν αυτοις* 05; [*μη*] *συμπαλαμβειν* 9<sup>45</sup>: *μη συνπαλαμβανειν τουτον* 01 02 03\*; *μη συνταραλαβειν* other witnesses.

(15.39)

24 *εκ τουτου* appears to be a hitherto unknown version of the beginning of verse 39. Note the similar implication of the variant *ουν* instead of *δε* in 04 08.

Fol. 4b, col. ii

(15.40)

7 The reconstruction with *υπο* follows the majority. 05 reads *απο*.

(15.41)

8-9 The reconstructed *Κυρο[φοινικη]ν* is otherwise unattested, other witnesses reading *την Κυριαν και (την) Κιλικιαν* (*δια c. gen.* 9<sup>45</sup>). Cf. *Κυροφοινικισσα*, Mk 7.26 (*Φοινισσα* 05; *Κυροφοινισσα* 032). The alternative *Κυρο[κιλικια]ν* should be rejected on historical grounds.

11-16 πα[ραδιδο]υς . . . [πρεβ]υτερων. The addition is supported by the Harklean margin and by the Latin witnesses Códex Gigas and some Vulgate witnesses. It is partly supported by 05, which reads παραδιδους τας εντολας των πρεβυτερων. The wording recalls that of 16.4; see note below.

11 Point probably *m. 1*.

16 Point probably *m. 2*.

(16.1)

17 What survives agrees with 05, διελθων δε τα εθνη ταυτα κατηνητησεν. Other witnesses read κατηνητησεν δε.

Fol. 5a, col. i

2 Diaeresis *m. 2*.

All other witnesses add γυναικος after υιος (γυναικος τωσ some manuscripts).

(16.2)

6 περι: υπο all other witnesses.

6-7 [Αυ]ετ[ρ]η. The singular form is also found in d (*Lystrae*). The form Ανετροις is normal. For a parallel to the usage in  $\mathfrak{B}$  see Tobit 6.10 A B (*Paγη* against *Paγοις*, the nominative, perhaps *Paγα*, being unattested) and the form Βεθκουρα against Βεθκουροις (nominative Βεθκουρα or Βεθκουραν). See H. St J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* 167f.; Moulton-Howard, *Grammar* ii 128, 147; Blass-Debrunner-Funk-Rehkopf, *Grammatik* § 57.

8 μ[αθητων]: αδελφων other witnesses. Note μαθητης in the previous verse.

(16.3)

10  $\mathfrak{B}$  is alone in omitting the article before Παυλος.

10-11 συν]εξελεθ[ειν αυτω. Space requires this change in order, otherwise unattested (συν αυτω εξελεθειν other witnesses). Compare the similar reading in  $\mathfrak{B}$  at fol. 4b i 22-3.

12-13 λαβ[ων περι]εξε[μεν αυτον with most witnesses.  $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$  and some minuscules read ελαβεν και περιτεμων αυτον. While space allows this to be equally possible, the reconstruction follows the more common reading.

16 τω τ[οπω]: τοις τοποις εκεινοις most other witnesses. Swanson reports τω τοπω εκεινω in 69 1175. (For the relationship between these two manuscripts (the former is the celebrated Leicester Codex) see K. Lake, S. New, *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts* (HThS 17: Cambridge, Mass. 1932) 220-43, esp. 221-5.)

At this point  $\mathfrak{B}$  lacks a phrase found in various wordings in all other witnesses: ηδεισαν γαρ (α) παντες τον πατερα αυτου οτι Ελλην υπηρχεν  $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$  05; ηδεισαν γαρ (α) παντες οτι Ελλην ο πατηρ αυτου υπηρχεν  $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  01 02 03 04 etc. There is no obvious cause for *parablepsis*. Did the phrase seem to contain a hint that Paul acted out of expediency?

(16.4)

16-23 δι[ερχομ]ενοι . . . ε[ν]τολας]. The reading of  $\mathfrak{B}$  is similar to 05, which reads διερχομενοι δε τας πολεις εκηρυσσαν και παρεδιδουσαν αυτοις μετα πασης παρρησιας τον κυριον ιησουν χριστον αμα παραδιδοντες και τας εντολας. The only difference is that  $\mathfrak{B}$  omits και παρεδιδουσαν αυτοις, a version with better sense. The reading of 03 is ωσ δε διεπορευοντο τας πολεις παρεδιδουσαν αυτοις φυλασσειν τα δογματα τα κεκριμενα υπο. Much of this wording is used by  $\mathfrak{B}$  at 15.41, perhaps leading to revision here. The development of the two versions of  $\mathfrak{B}$  and 05 is particularly interesting in these two places.

Fol. 5b, col. ii

(16.13)

2-3 συν[ελαλο]υν: ελαλουμεν other witnesses.

4–5 [cυνελ]ηλυθυι[αις: cυνεληλυθυιας 05: cυνελθουσαις other witnesses (followed by ημω 01\* 04 08).

(16.14)

6 The restoration of [ην τι]ς here and the uncertainty in line 11 seem to suggest a rather odd construction. τις alone in line 6 is too short. Note that 08 reads και τις γυνη . . . ητις, with a different word order; also that ητις appears a third time in this column at line 17.

6–11 ℣ has a distinctive word order, with the clauses placed as follows: τις γυνη / cεβομενη τον Θεον / ονοματι Λυδια / πορφυροπωλις Θυατειρων. Other witnesses read τις γυνη / ονοματι Λυδια / πορφυροπωλις πολεως Θυατειρων / cεβομενη τον Θεον (κυριον 05\*, θεον 05<sup>ac</sup>) ηκου(ς)εν. The difficulty of reconstruction noted at line 6 may be a result of this change in order.

10 ℣ omits πολεως (της πολεως 05), perhaps by haplography with the preceding πωλις.

For the spelling of *Θυατειρα*, see the evidence of one manuscript at Rev 1.11 (Gregory–Aland 2047, copied in Rome by a German in 1543) and one at 2.18 (Gregory–Aland 2015, of the fifteenth century). (See H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse: Collations of All Existing Available Greek Documents with the Standard Text of Stephen's Third Edition Together with the Testimony of Versions, Commentaries and Fathers; A Complete Conspectus of All Authorities* (London 1929) vol. ii, ad loc.) This looks like an example of assimilation to the noun *θυγάτηρ* occurring independently in several places (note the false word division at the line break in ℣). For an example of omission of gamma in *θυγάτηρ*, and other changes involving this letter, see Gignac, *Grammar* 174.

11 . . . ], c. The restoration is uncertain. [ητ]ις would suit space and trace, but mars the grammar. 08 reads θυατειρων cεβομενη τον θεον ητις ηκουεν ης ο κυριος διηνοιξεν την καρδιαν; could it be that ℣ offers an abbreviated form of something similar? Or do we have to assume an even greater corruption of *θυατειρων*?

Breathing on ης *m. 2*.

14–16 [ινα πιςτ]ευση [τοις λεγ]ομε[νοις]: προσεχειν τοις λαλουμενοις other witnesses (℣)<sup>74</sup> places λαλουμενοις after Πανλου). The nearest similar phrase in Acts is 8.12, οτε δε επιστευσαν τω Φιλιππω ευαγγελιζομενω.

(16.15)

17 ητις: ως δε other witnesses.

18 Point *m. 2*.

19–21 Other witnesses read ο οικος αυτης παρεκαλεσεν. ℣ evidently had a longer reading, longer than is found in any extant manuscript, but there is no obvious restoration. Perhaps the reference to ‘her and her household’ was slightly expanded (see e.g. Jn 4.53).

20 The ink marks consist of a vertical stroke and two specks.

21 Point *m. 2*. There may be a trace of ink before it.

24–5 There is no room for τω κυριω (τω θεω 05). The words are also omitted by a few minuscules (Tischendorf cited seven). This would be an interesting example of a reading previously attested only in manuscripts of the Byzantine period being shown to be of a much earlier date.

Fol. 6a, col. i

1–3 μενετε εις τον οικον μου: εις τον οικον μου μενετε other witnesses (μεινατε 04 and a few minuscules).

(16.16)

The sentence has been extensively remodelled. Compare 03, which reads εγενετο δε πορευομενων ημων εις την προσευχην. παιδικην τινα εχουσαν πνευμα πυθωνα υπαντησαι ημιν ητις εργασιαν πολλην παρειχεν τοις κυριοις αυτης· μαντευομενη.

5–6 [π]ορευομενων [δ]ε ημων: εγενετο δε πορευομενων ημων other witnesses. There is no

model elsewhere in Acts which might serve for this simplification. As a consequence of this, the sentence is linked to the following one, the main verb being reconstructed as *εκραζεν* (line 17). Of the form as it is found in Nestle-Aland, Barrett comments 'not one of Luke's best sentences' (II 784).

6-7 *εν τη προσευχη: εις την προσευχην* other witnesses (*την* is omitted by 05 and others).  $\mathfrak{B}$  adopts the more usual phrase. This changes the sense from a trip to a place of prayer to prayer as they were going along.

7  $\llbracket\eta\rrbracket\tau\iota\varsigma$  was corrected by the scribe. The occurrence of the word in line 9 may have influenced what was first copied here (and see the two occurrences of the word in lines 11 and 17 of the previous column). *παιδικη τικ* is also unique, other witnesses reading the accusative after *γίνομαι*.

8-9 *πυ[θ]ωνος*, added by a corrector, is read by  $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$  04<sup>C3</sup> 05<sup>C1</sup> 08 and some minuscules. Other witnesses read *πυθωνα*. What was originally written consisted of three to four letters at the beginning of line 9. One may very tentatively read *πολυ*.

9 For the omission of *υπαντησαι ημας*, see note on verse above.

9-10 *πολ[λ]ην εργασιαν: εργασιαν πολλην* other witnesses. Both positions of *πολυς* with the anarthrous noun are found in Acts, the position before being more common.

12 Like 05,  $\mathfrak{B}$  omits *αυτης* after *κυριοις* against other witnesses (including d). Like 05 also and here with d, it supplies *δια τουτου* (*sic* 05\*, om. 05<sup>C</sup>).

(16.17)

14 Point probably *m. 2*.

14 Other witnesses place *αυτη* before *κατακολουθουσα*.

15  $\alpha[v]$ : the following area has lost the upper layer of fibre.

16 *πολ[λα] ημων*. Other witnesses read (*τω*) *Παυλω και ημιν; πολ[λα]* may be a corruption of *Παυλω*.

17 *ε[κραζεν]* is restored with the majority of witnesses, but note *εκραξε* in a few minuscules; *και εκραζον* 05\*.

18  $\mathfrak{B}$  agrees with 05 in omitting *ανθρωποι* after *οι*.  $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$  omits *δουλοι*.

19 *τ[ο]υ υ[ψ]ις[τ]ο[υ]: του θεου του υψιστου* other witnesses.

22 Both *υμιν* (first hand) and *ημιν* (corrector) are otherwise attested: *υμιν*  $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  01 03 05 08; *ημιν*

02 04  $\mathfrak{BL}$ .

(16.18)

23-4 *κ(αι) τουτο*. Tischendorf cites Eustathius and Origen in support of this reading; *τουτο δε* other witnesses.

25-6 *ημεραις ικαναις: επι πολλας ημερας* other witnesses. Compare 14.21, where 05 reads *πολλους* against *ικανους*. For *ικανη* with *ημερα* see Acts 9.23, 43; 18.18; 27.7.

Fol. 6a, col. ii

1-4 *επ[ι]τρεψ[ι]σ[α] . . . [δ]ιαπονηθει[ς]*. The word order is shared with 05; *διαπονηθεις δε (ο) Παυλος και επι(σ)τρεψας τω πνευματι* other witnesses.

6 *τω* is read by 05 and a few minuscules. Other witnesses omit.

8 *εξ: απ* other witnesses.

Other witnesses have more after *αυτης: και ευθεως εξηλθεν* (05); *και αυτη[ς της ωρας εξηλθεν]* ( $\mathfrak{B}^{45}$ ); *και εξηλθεν αυτη τη ωρα* (other witnesses); *eadem hora exiit* (d).

(16.19)

8 Point probably *m. 1*.

8-9 [*ως δε ει*]*δο[ν]: ως δε ειδαν* 05; *και ιδοντες* 03; *ιδοντες* 02\*: *ιδοντες δε* other witnesses.

9-10 *αυ]τη[ς]* is the reading of most manuscripts but 05, which has *της παιδικης* for *αυτης*.

10 The ink read as  $\xi$  is at the bottom extremity of a detached piece, and fits one of the horizontal strokes of this letter as well as anything else.

10–17 05 reads *απεστερηθαι της εργασιαι αυτων ης ειχαν δι αυτης*; other witnesses read *εξηλθεν η ελπις της εργασιαι αυτων*.  $\mathfrak{B}$  clearly read something quite different (72 against 42 and 29 letters respectively). The first letter of line 14 is consistent with rho, but it is far from certain. What is readable is [ ]ξ[ ]θερ [ α.8 ]αδ. [ α.8 ] της [ α.8 ]ρ[ α.20 ]ης[ α.8 ] αυτης. The beginning could be restored as [ε]ξ[ηλ]θερ [η ελπις]. Or was *αυτη τη ωρα* from verse 18 added after *εξηλθεν*?

19 *Κιλαβ*: *Κιλαν* 04 05: *τον Κιλαν* other witnesses. For the spelling see Blass–Debrunner §53.2 ‘*Σιλέας* is not clear (A 15.34 D *Σειλέα* Sileae)’.  $\mathfrak{B}$  provides important clarification. It is consistent at the subsequent occurrences: 16.25, 29; 17.10.

20 *ηγα[γο]ν*: *εκυραν* 08: *ειλικυαν* other witnesses. Compare the reconstructed reading of  $\mathfrak{B}$  at 12.8 ([*και λαβο*]μενος [*τον Πετρον*] προ[*ηγαγεν*]).

21 Other witnesses supply *επι τους αρχοντας* after *αγοραν*.

Point *m*. 2.

(16.20)

21–4 *και ενεφαν[ις]αν . . . λεγο[ν]τες* is  $\mathfrak{B}$ 's variation on *και προσαγαγοντες αυτους . . . ειπαν/-ον. εμφανίζω* is used regularly of the charges brought against Paul in Chapters 23 to 25 (23.15; 24.1; 25.2, 15).

25 *οι α̅[οι] ουτοι: ουτοι οι ανθρωποι* other witnesses.

26 *ταρα[cc]ουσι[ν]*: *εκταραccουσιν* other witnesses. The compound verb only comes here and in 05 at 15.24 in the NT, while the simple form is common. Compare 17.8 (fol. 8b, col. ii 12–13), where  $\mathfrak{B}$  reads *ενεπλησαν* for *εταραξαν*.

Fol. 6b, col. i

(16.21)

This verse shows little variation, compared to what has preceded it.

5 [εθ]η. There is insufficient room for the distinctive reading of 05, *εθνη* (while one might be able to squeeze in the extra letter of *εθνη*, there is no room for the preceding *τα*).

5–6 *η]μιν [εξε]cτη: εξεcτην ημιν* other witnesses (*εξ. ημας* 05).

6–7 One could restore either [*παρ*]αδε[ξ]α]cθα[ι with 05 or [*παρ*]αδε[χ]ε]cθα[ι] with other witnesses.

8–9 *υ[παρ]χο[υ]σιν* with 05 (used in verse 20): *ουσιν* other witnesses.

(16.22)

9–12 *κα]ι πο[λυ]c θ[χ]λο]c επεcτη] κ[ατ αυ]ων [επικραζο]ντες*. This separate sentence in  $\mathfrak{B}$  is very similar to 05, *πολυc οχλοc συνεπεcτησαν κατ αυτων κραζοντες*. The differences lie in the verbal compounds and the plural verb after *οχλοc* found in 05. Note *superuenerunt* in d (*concurrit* Vg, *consurrexit* gig Lucif, *constituit* e), comparing 11.11 *επεcτησαν* 05 / *superuenerunt* d. There is a possibility that here  $\mathfrak{B}$  and d combine to show an older form than 05. Other witnesses read *συνεπεcτη ο οχλοc κατ αυτων*.

13 *τοτε* restored with 05\*: *και* other witnesses.

14–15 *τα ματ]ι[α περιρηξαντες]: περιρ(ρ)ηξαντες αυτων τα ματια* other witnesses.

(16.23)

17 *κα]ι π]ολλαc: πολλαc τε* other witnesses (*πολλαc δε* 03).

18 After *επι]θ]ε]ν]τες*  $\mathfrak{B}$  omits the *αυτοιc* found in other witnesses.

24 *τηρειν* with other witnesses, against *τηρειcθαι* 05, but omitting *αυτουc* against them all.

(16.24)

The text in  $\mathfrak{B}$  is again distinctive.

24–5 For [ο] δε *δεcμοφν]λα]ξ* other witnesses read *οc*; ο δε 05 may be the starting point for the reading of  $\mathfrak{B}$ . The repetition has something of the cadence of Mt 5.25.

25–col. ii 1 *παρ]α]λαβ]ων α]ν]τουc εβαλεν*.  $\mathfrak{B}$  simplifies the reading *παραγγελιαν τοιαυτην λαβων* and reverses *εβαλεν αυτουc*.

Fol. 6b, col. ii

2-3 φυλακην την εσωτερω: εσωτεραν φυλακην other witnesses. The comparative of the adverb is not found elsewhere in the NT.

3, 6 Points probably *m.* 2.

4-5 αυτων ησφαλιςατο with 04<sup>Cs</sup> 05<sup>sm</sup> 08 (αυτων ησφαλιςαντο 05<sup>\*</sup>): ησφαλιςατο αυτων other witnesses.

5-6 [ει]ς ξυλον: εν τω ξυλω 05: εις το ξυλον other witnesses.

(16.25)

7 μεσην νυκτα: μεσον της νυκτος 05<sup>\*</sup>: μεσονυκτιον 01: το μεσονυκτιον 05<sup>C1</sup> and the rest.

8 ο with 05, 04 inserts the article before Σιλας.

10 Oblique stroke *m.* 2.

11 Point probably *m.* 2.

13 δεσμωτα[ι: δεσμοι (δεσμοι 05<sup>\*</sup>) other witnesses. δεσμωται occurs at 27.1, 42 and nowhere else in the NT.

(16.26)

This verse has extensive revision.

13-16 The opening becomes και εξαπινης εγενετο σεισμος μεγας, instead of the usual αφνω δε (τε 04) σεισμος εγενετο μεγας. Moulton reckons that the form εξαπινης is older than εξαπινα (*Grammar* ii 311). It is not found elsewhere in the New Testament.

16 Point could be *m.* 1.

16-19 Ψ's κα[ι εκ]αλ[ευ]θη . . . κ[αι] ηνε[ωχ]θης[αν] is a simpler construction than Luke's ωστε καλυθηναι . . . ηνεωχθησαν δε. The second και is similar to the text of d (*apertiquae* (scil. -que)), against ηνεωχθησαν δε (05).

18 Probably restore as π[αντα], for του δεσμωτηριου. Perhaps suggested by πασαι in the following phrase.

22 The final phrase is more recognizable. Ψ reads ανεθη with 03 and other witnesses against ανελυθη (01<sup>\*</sup> 05<sup>\*</sup>).

Fol. 7a, col. i

(16.27)

2 πασαι: της φυλακης other witnesses. Compare π[αντα] in Ψ at 16.26. 05<sup>\*</sup> reads και before σπασαμενος.

3 Ψ omits την before μαχαιραν, with Ψ<sup>74</sup> 01 02 08 and other witnesses.

4 ηθελης[ν]: ημελλεν other witnesses (εμελλεν 05 and some minuscules). Compare ηθελεν in minuscule 441, and Theophylact<sup>b</sup> (*teste* Tischendorf). Compare 12.3 (fol. 3a, col. i 20), where Ψ supports ηθεληςεν against προσεθετο, in a similar context. θέλω is quite a common word in the text of 05, appearing in its longer readings at 3.13; 4.31; 10.21; 11.2; 15.20, 29; 19.1, 14, and as a substitution at 16.7 (for πειράζω); 18.15 (for βούλομαι); 20.3 (for μέλλω). Note especially this last reading.

5-6 κατακ[.]σαι: ανελειν 05: αναρειν other witnesses. Restoration here is difficult. κατακ[ε]ν[τη]σαι is perhaps possible, but the trace after κ is like the foot of an oblique rising from left to right (a slanting upright is another possibility). This might suggest κατακ[α]λ[α]σαι, which would fit the space, but we cannot find another passage where it would mean 'to kill oneself'.

(16.28)

10 αυτον Παυλος is not otherwise attested. Other witnesses omit αυτον and include μεγαλη φωνη or φωνη μεγαλη (after Παυλος 03). Most witnesses read ο Παυλος. The article is omitted by Ψ<sup>74</sup> 01 03 04<sup>\*</sup>. For a full statement of all text forms here, see *Text und Textwert* 546-8.

11-12 μη ταρσσο: μηδεν πραξης (ποιης 08) σεαυτω (+ τι 05) κακον other witnesses. This, with the reading επεπεσεν in line 18, may recall Lk 1.12 εταραχθη Ζαχαριας . . . φοβος επεπεσεν.



14 Point *m.* 2.

**(16.29)**

φωτα δε αιτησας with 05 (ετησας): αιτησας δε φωτα other witnesses.

16 Point *m.* 2.

17-18 υπαρχων with 04\* 05: γενομενος other witnesses.

18 επιπεσων. See on lines 11-12 above. The participial form may be an error for επεπεσεν under the influence of the preceding υπαρχων, since there is no finite verb until εφη in line 24 (and note omission of και at the beginning of verse 30). 05 adds προς τους ποδας.

20 Cιλαα. Omission of τω with 03 04\* 05. Other witnesses read τω Cιλαα.

**(16.30)**

Other witnesses read και before προαγαγων.

προαγων 9<sup>b</sup>\* with 01\*; προγαγεν 05; προαγαγων 9<sup>c</sup> with other witnesses.

21, 23, 24 Points *m.* 2.

21-3 τους λοιπους ασφαλισας: 05 (τους λοιπους ασφαλισαμενος) is the only other Greek witness to include this phrase. There is versional support from the Peshitta and the Harklean (in which it is obelized text).

24 For εφη, 05 reads και ειπεν (ειπεν 05<sup>c</sup>). The remainder of the verse is very constant in the witnesses.

Fol. 7a, col. ii

**(16.31)**

2 ε[ι]πον. ειπαν is read by the old witnesses.

[αυ]τω is not otherwise attested.

3-4 επι with most witnesses: εις 08.

4 04 05 08 and most other witnesses add Χριστον after Ιησουν.

6 08 adds πας before ο.

Point *m.* 2.

**(16.32)**

7 αυτοις: αυτω other witnesses. Since 9<sup>b</sup> omits συν πασιν τοις εν τη οικια αυτου after κυριου (και πασιν etc. 08), αυτοις acts as an abbreviation of the sentence.

**(16.33)**

9-11 [κα]ι εκεινη τη [ω]ρα παραλαβοντες αυτους. Other witnesses read και παραλαβων αυτους εν εκεινη τη ωρα. Apart from the change in word order, 9<sup>b</sup> adopts plural forms (παραλαβοντες . . . ελουσαν), following on from ελαλησαν in verse 32.

15-16 παντες οι παρ αυτου: ο οικος αυτου ολος 9<sup>b45</sup>: οι αυτου απαντες 01 03: οι οικιοι αυτου παντες 02: οι αυτου παντες other witnesses. Other witnesses follow the phrase with παραχηρημα. For a full statement of all text forms here, see *Text und Textwert* 548-50.

**(16.34)**

17 και remains a doubtful reading. The word is read by 05\*. Other witnesses add τε (δε 04) after αναγαγων (also present in 05).

17-18, 19-20 For the plural forms ([α]γαγοντες, παρεθηκαν), cf. above, 9-11 n.

19 9<sup>b74</sup> 01 02 05 08 add αυτου after οικον (αυτου και 05\*).

21 08 adds αυτοις before τραπεζαν. Point *m.* 2.

21-2 There is variation between ηγαλλιατο (04\* 05) and ηγαλλιαστο (04<sup>C2</sup> and most other witnesses).

22 05 reads συν τω οικω αυτου for πανοικει (08 omits). Accent *m.* 2 (wrongly).

24 επι τον θ(εο)ν with 05: τω θεω most other witnesses.

## (16.35)

24—fol. 7b, col. i 1 γενομενης δε ημερας for ημερας δε γενομενης of other witnesses.

Fol. 7b, col. i

1—10 This is one of  $\mathfrak{V}$ 's most striking long agreements with 05. They are identical, except for  $\mathfrak{V}$  against  $\text{ouc}$  (05 *sic*); του γενομενου *σεισμου* against τον *σεισμον* τον γεγονοτα; αποστειλλουσι against απεστειλαν. The Harklean margin also contains this expansion. Other witnesses read απεστειλαν οι στρατηγοι. For a full statement of all text forms for the variant ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατηγοί, see *Text und Textwert* 551—2.

12 λεγοντες with the majority of the manuscripts: λεγοντας 05.

13—14 τω δεσμοφυλακι not present in other witnesses.

16—17  $\mathfrak{V}$  omits *εκεινους* with 424\*, present in other witnesses, and adds ους *εχθες παρελαβες* with 05 and the Harklean.

## (16.36)

17—20 [ει]ξελθων δε ο δεσμοφυλαξ απ[η]γγειλεν αυτοις is more similar to 05 (και ειελθων ο δεσμοφυλαξ απηγγειλεν) than to other witnesses (which read απηγγειλεν δε ο δεσμοφυλαξ).

20  $\mathfrak{V}$  reads αυτοις, while  $\mathfrak{V}^{45}$  03 04 05 read τους λογους προς τον Παυλον. Other Greek witnesses and d (*hos sermones*) add τουτους after λογους.

21 απεσταλκασιν with 05 08: απεστειλαν 04: απεσταλκαν other witnesses.

22—4 απολυθηται υμας: να απολυθητε other witnesses.

24 Point probably *m.1*.

24—5 απολυθητε apparently stands for the sentence νυν ουν εξελθοντες πορευθαι εν ειρηνη found in other witnesses (εν ειρηνη: εις ειρηνην 01; om. 05). If intentional, it is an extreme example of  $\mathfrak{V}$ 's tendency to abbreviate.

## (16.37)

26—col. ii 1 προς αυτους ειπεν: εφη προς αυτους other witnesses (εφη 08).

Fol. 7b, col. ii

1—2 ακαταιτιαστους. Compare αναιτιους 05. In  $\mathfrak{V}$  this stands partially instead of ακατακριτους ανθρωπους Ρωμαιοις υπαρχοντας after δημοσια, read by other witnesses (including 05; υπαρχοντας Ρωμαιοις ανθρωπους  $\mathfrak{V}^{45}$ ).  $\mathfrak{V}$  reads υπαρχοντας Ρωμαιοις after φυλακην (note its similarity of word order with  $\mathfrak{V}^{45}$ ). ακαταιτιαστους is not a known word, but cf. the well-attested ακαταιτίατος; it would be a regular formation from -αιτιάσειν (itself a variation of -αιτιάν), and would be equivalent to ακατακριτους.

1—7 ακαταιτιαστους . . . Ρωμαιοις.  $\mathfrak{V}$  places the phrases in a unique order. Other witnesses read δειραντες ημας δημοσια ακατακριτους ανθρωπους Ρωμαιοις υπαρχοντας εβαλαν εις φυλακην (with minor differences).

4 εβαλον with  $\mathfrak{V}^{74}$  01 02 08: εβαλαν other witnesses.

5 την not present in other witnesses.

8—9 εκβαλλουσι ημας: ημας εκβαλλουσιν other witnesses (ημας παρακαλουσιν  $\mathfrak{V}^{74}$ ).

10—11 ελθοντες ουν αυτοι is a simplification of the classical ου γαρ αλλα ελθοντες αυτοι. See also [ελθοντες αυτοι]  $\mathfrak{V}^{45}$ ; αυτοι ημας ελθοντες 08 (bringing ημας forward).

11—12 επαγαγετωσαν ημας: ημας εξαγαγετωσαν other witnesses. The use of compound may be an error: the intended meaning is not clear.

12 Point *m. 2*.

## (16.38)

12—22 For a discussion of this verse, see above, introd. (p. 14).

## (16.39)

22-fol. 8a, col. i 13  $\mathfrak{V}$  joins 05 in another longer version of the text. There are the following differences:

- 23 τε] om. 05  
 24-5 ἱκανων φιλων: φιλων πολλων 05  
 25 επι: εις 05

Fol. 8a, col. i

- 6 δικα[ιοι]: 05 adds και εξαγοντες παρεκαλεσαν αυτους λεγοντες.  
 7-8 εκ ταυτης δε πολωας: εκ της πολωας ταυτης 05  
 8-9 εξ[ελ]θετε: εξελθατε 05  
 10-11 επιστ[ρ]αφω[σι] παλι: παλι συνστραφωσι ημιν 05  
 11 οι om. 05

## (16.40)

13-14 απολυθεντες δε abbreviates εξελθοντες δε απο (εκ  $\mathfrak{V}^{74}$  02 05 08) της φυλακης (other witnesses).

- 14-15 ηλθον with 05: ειηλθον other witnesses.  
 15 εις: προς other witnesses.  
 16 Point *m. 2.*

17-22 τους αδ[ε]λφους διη[γ]ησαντο οσα εποιησεν κ̄ αυτοις και πα[ρ]εκαλεσαντες (corrected by a second hand to πα[ρ]ακαλεσαντες) αυτους. Most witnesses read παρεκαλεσαν τους αδελφους;  $\mathfrak{V}^{45}$  (partially extant) and 08 read τους αδελφους παρεκαλεσαν αυτους. 05 has a very similar expansion, but 05\* omits και; this was corrected to παρεκαλεσαν τε.

23 εξεσησαν (scil. εξησαν) completes the recasting of the verse. Other witnesses read και εξηλθαν/-ον.

Point *m. 2.*

## (17.1)

23-col. ii 2 και κατη[[η]]λθον εις Απολλωνιδα εκειθεν δε is a shorter version of the text as it is found in 05\*, which reads διοδευσαντες δε την Αμφιπολιω και κατηλθον εις Απολλωνιδα κακειθεν. Other forms are:

- διοδευσαντες δε την Αμφιπολιω κατηλθον εις Απολλωνιδα κακειθεν 05<sup>C</sup>  
 διελθοντες δε την Απολλωνιαν την Αμφιπολιω ηλθον 08  
 διοδευσαντες δε την Αμφιπολιω (πολιω 01\*) και την Απολλωνιαν ηλθον other witnesses

$\mathfrak{V}$  appears to have omitted the first phrase, and reads εκειθεν δε instead of κακειθεν. The clumsy construction in 05 might suggest that διοδευσαντες δε την Αμφιπολιω was a reinsertion of material found in most witnesses. But this construction is a regular feature of the manuscript (see Parker, *Codex Bezae* 253-6).

Note that  $\mathfrak{V}$  agrees with 05 in reading Απολλωνιδα against Απολλωνιαν. The reading could hitherto have been dismissed as an error in 05 (*Apolloniam* d), but now has to be taken as a genuine variant.

Fol. 8a, col. ii

## (17.1-2)

1, 3 Points *m. 2.*

3-8 The reading κατα δε το ειωθ̄ς Παυλος ειηλθεν εις την συναγωγην των Ἰουδαιων is a re-ordering and abbreviation of the text as it is usually found:

- οπου ην (+ η 08) συναγωγη των (των om.  $\mathfrak{V}^{74}$ ) Ιουδαιων. κατα δε το ειωθος τω Παυλω ειηλθεν προς αυτους

05 reads

σπου . . . Ἰουδαίων. και (dcl. 05<sup>c</sup>) κατα το εἰωθος (εἰωθος 05<sup>c</sup>) ο Παυλος εἰσηλθεν προς αυτους  
4 Accent *m. 2.*

(17.2-3)

8-13 ἐπι ραββατα τρια δια[λεγο]μενος αυτοις εκ των γραφων και διανοιγων. Most witnesses read και . . . διελεξατο . . . διανοιγων. 05 omits και like  $\mathfrak{B}$ , but reads διελεχθη . . . διανοιγων (with 08). The later tradition favours και . . . διελεγετο.

11 εκ with 05; απο other witnesses.

(17.3)

17 Other witnesses add εκ νεκρων after αναστηναι.

19 Χ[ριστου]ς Ι[ησου]ς with  $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  02 05: ο Χριστος ο Ιησους 03: Ιησους Χριστος 01: Ιησους ο Χριστος 08<sup>L</sup>. The Byzantine form is ο Χριστος Ιησους.

(17.4)

21 αυτων (in lacuna). Other witnesses read εξ αυτων.

24-5 Most witnesses read τω Παυλω και τω Ciλα after προσεκληρωθησαν; 05 reads τω Παυλω και τω Ciλα τη διδαχη;  $\mathfrak{B}$  reads τη διδαχη. It is tempting to conclude that 05 is a conflation of the two readings.

25-fol. 8b, col. i 1 πολλοι των εβομενων is also read by 05, although 05 adds και after. Other witnesses read των τε εβομενων (+ και  $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  02). In sense  $\mathfrak{B}$  is closer to other witnesses in lacking και.

Fol. 8b, col. i

3-5 The reading [κ]αι γυναικες is shared with 05; other witnesses read γυναικων τε. This reading has attracted interest since it was noticed by E. S. Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (London 1983) 52.

(17.5)

6-11 οι δε απειθοντες Ἰουδαιο[ι] συνστρεψαντες τ[ε]νας ανδρ[α]ς τ[ων] αγοραιω[ν] πολλο[υ]ς εθο[ρ]υβου[ν]. The reading is an addition to the various versions of the first part of this verse.

ζηλωσαντες δε οι Ιουδαιοι και προσλαβομενοι των αγοραιων ανδρας τινας (τινας ανδρας 01) πονηρους και οχλοποιησαντες εθορυβουν  $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  01 02 03 and the Byzantine text

οι δε απειθουντες Ιουδαιοι συνστρεψαντες τινας ανδρας των αγοραιων πονηρους εθορυβουσαν 05  
ζηλωσαντες δε οι Ιουδαιοι και προσλαβομενοι των αγοραιων ανδρας τινας πονηρους απειθησαντες και οχλοποιησαντες εθορυβουν (θορυβουν\*) 08

$\mathfrak{B}$  agrees with 05 except for reading πολλους instead of πονηρους (*ex errore?*), and favouring the imperfect as  $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  01 etc. (note that d reads *turbabant*, suggesting that the reading in 05 is more recent). The restoration in line 7 includes συν as in 05.

12 Point probably *m. 2.*

16 εξαγαγειν with 05; προαγαγειν 08; προαγαγειν  $\mathfrak{B}^{74}$  01 etc.

20 08 adds αλλους after τινας.

23 και λεγοντες is restored, an addition found in 05. Otherwise the text of 03 fits reasonably with the few letters visible from line 16 onwards.

Fol. 8b, col. ii

(17.6)

1 -σταουντες is otherwise unattested, other witnesses reading αναστατωσαντες.

2 εις with 05\*. Other witnesses omit.

3 Point *m. 2.*

**(17.7)**

4–5 υποδε[δ]εκ[α]τος: υποδεδεκται 03 and other witnesses. The reading in  $\mathfrak{P}$  seems to be a confusion. The reconstruction υποδε[δ]εκ[α]τος assumes that the scribe made a mistake. Perhaps he misarticulated the run of letters as δεκατος; or perhaps he omitted some letters in his exemplar, e.g. υποδεδεκ(ται αυ)τος ο Ιακων.

10 The suggested [ω]ς is otherwise unattested, other manuscripts having nothing.

10–11 λεγοντες τινα: λεγοντες ειναι ετερον 08; λεγοντες ετερον ειναι 05; ετερον λεγοντες ειναι other witnesses.

**(17.8)**

12–13 The verse begins with a different wording, ενεπλησαν τε θυμου (compare Lk 4.28 επλησθησαν παντες θυμου εν τη συναγωγη; Ac 19.28 γενομενοι πληρεις θυμου): εταραξαν δε other witnesses (και εταραξεν 05).

14–15 This is followed by a difference in word order also found in 05: τους πολιταρχας και τον οχλον; τον οχλον (πολιν 08) και τους πολιταρχας other witnesses.

16 ακουοντας with most other witnesses: ακουαντες 05<sup>\*</sup>; ακουαντα 05<sup>c</sup>.

**(17.9)**

17–18 For οι μεν ουν π[ολι]ταρχαι other witnesses read και. The phrase could have been suggested by a dozen passages in Acts.

18–19 ικανον λαβοντες: λαβοντες το ικανον other witnesses.

22 Other witnesses add αυτους after απελυσαν.

**(17.10)**

23–4 απελυον δια νυκτος is unique to  $\mathfrak{P}$ . Compare ευθως δια νυκτος εξεπεμψαν 03; ευθως εξεπεμψαν δια νυκτος 01; εξεπεμψαν 02; ευθως δια της νυκτος εξεπεμψαν 08. Note απελυσαν in line 22.

25  $\mathfrak{P}$  agrees with 05 in not reading τε after τον.

25–6 κυ[ν] τω Κυλαα; και τον Κυλαν other witnesses. For the spelling Κυλαα, see on 16.19 above.

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S. R. PICKERING

## II. MEDICAL AND RELATED TEXTS

The eleven papyri published in this section include a single known text, of the Hippocratic *De articulis*, with the remaining unidentified fragments preserving a range of ethical, dietetic, surgical, anatomical, and pharmacological texts. **4973** is included in the present group because of its possible veterinary content, while the document preserved on **4979** may pertain to the activity of a local doctor. The group doubles the number of papyri of medical content published previously in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*: III **437**, **468**, IX **1184**, XXXI **2547**, II **234**, and LII **3654** (which last appear to be written in the same hand: see I. Andorlini, in *Pap. Congr. XIX* (1992) 375–90), along with the pharmacological texts VIII **1088**, XI **1384**, LIII **3701** and LIV **3724** iii 1–6. Unedited portions of XIX **2221v** + P. Köln V 206v and IV **661v** are also reported to contain medical recipes. Other medical papyri found at Oxyrhynchus are PSI II 116, 132, XII 1275, PSI Congr. XVII 19, P. Mil. Vogl. I 15, P. Coll. Youtie I 4, and P. Med. inv. 71.77 (= M–P<sup>3</sup> 545.2).

The following abbreviations will be used:

<i>GMP</i>	I. Andorlini (ed.), <i>Greek Medical Papyri</i> , vols. i (Florence 2001), ii (Florence 2009)
Andorlini, 'P. Grenf. I 52'	I. Andorlini, 'P. Grenf. I 52: note farmacologiche', <i>BASP</i> 18 (1981) 1–25
Andorlini, <i>Trattato</i>	I. Andorlini, <i>Trattato di medicina su papiro</i> (Florence 1995)
Andorlini, 'Specimina'	I. Andorlini (ed.), 'Specimina' per il Corpus dei papiri greci di medicina (Florence 1997)
Andorlini, <i>Testi</i>	I. Andorlini (ed.), <i>Testi medici su papiro</i> (Florence 2004)
Marganne, <i>Chirurgie</i>	M.-H. Marganne, <i>La Chirurgie dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine d'après les papyrus littéraires grecs</i> (Leiden 1998)

### 4969. HIPPOCRATES, *DE ARTICULIS* 57–58, 60

19 2B.76/E(a) +  
8 1B.196/G(1–3)b

fr. 1 3.5 × 1.7 cm  
fr. 2 5.2 × 4.1 cm; fr. 3 2.8 × 5.5 cm

Second/third century

Three fragments belonging to two consecutive leaves of a papyrus codex, found in different excavation seasons. The number of leaves per quire cannot be determined, and it cannot be ruled out that the codex was comprised of *uniones*. The pages are organised according to a sequence of the type ↓ → → ↓ ('like facing like pages'), found both in *uniones*, for which it is the only possible sequence, and in quires (E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Pennsylvania 1977) 63 and n. 14). This configuration becomes common in the fourth century, but earlier examples are not unknown (*Typology* 64ff., esp. 68). On fr. 3 → the fibres are distorted and irregular. The damage was already present, since at 4 *ματαγ* is written partially

on the underlying vertical fibres. There is a coarse *kollesis*, with nothing unusual about its position relative to the page.

On the basis of an approximate reconstruction, the codex may have had pages of 38–40 lines with a written area of approximately 11.5 × 17.5 cm. Given that the upper margin of fr. 3 and the lateral margin of fr. 1+2 are 1.8 cm, this comes to a total for one page of 15 × 21 cm, which corresponds to Turner's Group 7 (cf. esp. PSI III 158, an astrological text, among the Aberrants 1 (*Typology* 19), assigned to the third century).

The writing is of small size, neat and careful, of the so-called 'Severe Style'. The hand is very similar to that of XLII 2999 (compare also XLII 3012 and XLVII 3321), and may be placed between the end of the second century and the beginning of the third. The scribe sometimes writes letters smaller at line-end to maintain alignment: see fr. 1+2 ↓ 4 γαρ; 7 τον; 10 πον; fr. 3 ↓ 3 the final letters of κατα. Fr. 3 ↓ preserves line ends, as seen at 1, 2, 3 as well as 5, where a line-filler appears.

Between fr. 3 → 1–2 a *diple obelismene* is found, while a simple *paragraphus* is used between 5 and 6; for their use compare P. Lond. Lit. 164, the medical treatise of the Anonymus Londinensis: in both texts the *diple obelismene* marks a stronger pause than the *paragraphus*. Elision is effected but not marked. Organic diaeresis is found at fr. 1+2 ↓ 4, inorganic at fr. 1+2 → 6. Iota adscript is not written.

This is the first papyrus witness to *De articulis* known so far, though two fragments of *De fracturis* have been published: P. Brook. 94, preserving remains of *Fract.* 1, identified by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 47–8, and P. Aberd. 124, with remains of *Fract.* 37, identified by I. Andorlini, in *GMP* i 1. A citation of *Art.* 8 has also been recognized in an anonymous medical text on physiology of the second or third century (*GMP* i 7).

The text displays regular Ionic dialectal forms, which is generally confirmed by the older medieval manuscripts. It incorporates two Ionicisms not preserved in the manuscript tradition: at fr. 1+2 → 3, μόγις against the manuscripts' μόλις; at fr. 3 → 6, ὦν against their Attic form οῦν. The papyrus' place in the history of the textual tradition of *Art.* seems to be quite independent and cannot be related to either of the two branches of the medieval tradition. It preserves some readings in common with B (Laur. 74.4) against MV (Marc. gr. 269; Vat. gr. 276) (at fr. 1+2 → 2, 4), apparently with MV against B (at fr. 3 → 1), and includes a noteworthy variant (fr. 1+2 → 9). In addition fr. 3 ↓, which contains part of ch. 60, certainly contains a text that diverges from that preserved by the medieval manuscripts, being longer, such that the lines cannot be reconstructed. It is striking that the divergences from the medieval tradition are concentrated at this point, suggesting that the text of the exemplar was corrupt or had been interfered with here (perhaps a marginal gloss imported into the text?). Unfortunately neither Galen's commentary nor the treatise on *Art.* by Apollonius of Citium provides notes at this point on textual divergences already present in the ancient tradition.

For the collation the text of H. Kühlewein, *Hippocratis Opera quae feruntur omnia* ii (Leipzig 1902) has been used, with recourse also to those of E. Littré, *Œuvres d'Hippocrate* iv (Paris 1844), and F. Z. Ermerins, *Hippocratis et aliorum medicorum veterum reliquiae* viii (Leipzig-Paris 1864) 55-156.

fr. 1 + 2

↓

... ] τ[ο] αρ[θ]ρ[ον]. [.] [ ] §57 (201.10)  
 ... ] ἀλλ' ἡκιστα τῶν [ἐκπαλεῶν οὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ἐκτα  
 νοῦσι] καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν β[ουβῶνα καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἰ]γνυὴν αρ  
 θρον] προσξυνίενα[ι μὲν οὖν καὶ τοδε χρῆ ευχ]ρηστον γαρ  
 5 ... ] υ[.] ἀξ[ι]ο]ν [ἐστὶν καὶ τοὺς πλείστους λ]ηθῆι ὅτι  
 οὐδ' οἱ υγιαίνοντες δύνανται κατὰ τὴν ἰ]γνυὴν ε  
 κτανυεῖν τὸ ἀρθρον ἢ μὴ συνεκτανυῶ]σι καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν  
 βουβῶνα ἀρθρον πλὴν ἢ μὴ πανυ ἀνω ἀειρωσι] τὸν π[ο  
 δα οὕτω δ' ἀν δύναντο οὐ τοῖων οὐδὲ] ζυγκάμπτειν  
 10 δύνανται τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἰγνυὴν ἀρθ]ρον ὁμοίως ἀλλ[α]...  
 χαλεπωτέρων ἢ μὴ ζυγκάμψω]σι καὶ τὸ κατὰ τ[ο]ν  
 βουβῶνα ἀρθρον πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ σ]μα τ[ο]ι]αῦτα[ε  
 ἀδελφίξιας ἐχει καὶ κατὰ νεύρων συντασια]ε καὶ κ[α]τα

→

... ] [.] [.] [.] [.] [ ] §58 (203.16)  
 ἐς τοῦπις[ω ἐπὶ πολὺν ὑπερέχοντῶ]ν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποδ[ο]ς τῆς  
 βᾶσιος καὶ [τῆς ραχίος ἐς τὰ ἰσχία ρεπ]ουσης μογίς δὲ [τῶι στή  
 θει τοῦ ποδ[ο]ς καθικνεῖται καὶ] οὐδὲ οὕτως ἢ μὴ [καμψῆι  
 5 αὐτὸς ἐωτ[ον κατὰ τοὺς βουβῶνας καὶ τῶι]. [ ]  
 τὰ τὴν ἰ]γνυ]ν [ἐπιζυγκάμψῃ ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτοις ἀναγ  
 κάζειτ[αι ὥστε τῆ χειρὶ κατὰ τὸ σινᾶρον σκελὸς ερείδεσθαι  
 ἐς τὸ ἀνω τοῦ [μῆρου ἐφ' ἑκαστῆ συμβάσει ἀναγκαζεῖ οὖν τι  
 καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν [ὥστε κάμπτεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς βου  
 10 βῶνας ἐν γὰρ τῇ [μεταλλάγῃ τῶν σκελεῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδο  
 ποριῇ οὐ δύνατ[αι τὸ σῶμα ὀχεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ σινᾶρον σκελε  
 ος] ἢ μὴ [προσκατερείδηται τὸ σινᾶρον πρὸς τὴν γῆν

fr. 3 →

κῆρτον [ο]κ[οσοῖσι δ' ἀν ἐκ γενεῆς ἢ καὶ ἀλλῶς ἐν ἀυξήσει εὐσειν οὐ §58 (206.1-7)  
 > τῶς ὀλιγῶθ] [τὸ ἀρθρον ὀπισθῶ καὶ μὴ ἐμπροσθῆν τῆ βιη ὀλι  
 γῶθ] ἢ τ]ε [καὶ ὑπὸ νοῦσου πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξάρθρη  
 ματα γι]ν[ε]ται ἐν νοῦσοις οἵαι δὲ τινες αἱ νοῦσοι  
 5 ἐν ἡρσι ἐξάρθρῃται τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑστερὸν γεγραφεῖται ἢ  
 ἄν ἐκτα[ν μὴ ἐμπροσθῆν τοῦ μῆρου τὸ ὀστεον βρα  
 χυ] γίνεται κ[α]κούται δὲ καὶ παντὸς σκελὸς καὶ

↓

λοῦ οδοῖορ]εῖν ἀνευ ξυ §60 (208.9-17)  
 τε ] τὸ σινᾶρον α  
 5 ρουσι ]... καὶ ζυ >  
 τ]ον ποδα δὲ οὐ  
 ] . τε μὴ παντι  
 πτ]ερνη οὐτο[ι  
 π]ρ[ο]βαῖν[εῖν

fr. 1 + 2

↓ 1 Only the lower extremities of letters survive, but the remains are consistent with the reading ] τ[ο] αρ[θ]ρ[ον]. [.] [ ] [ ], which, given the average line length, is approximately what we should expect at this point.

2 The available space between 2 and 3 suggests that it contained the word μᾶλλον, which is found in BMV, but not in PG or Gal. *Loc. aff.* 6.5 [viii 430-31 K.]. It is omitted by Littré and Ermerins, and athetized by Kühlewein.

3 ἰ]γνυ]ν: om. Ap.

4 προσξυνίενα[ι: προσξυνεῖναι B.

οὖν (restored) om. Gal. *Loc. aff.* viii 430 K.

5 ] υ[.] ἀξ[ι]ο]ν [ . After upsilon, there is a small lacuna the width of a single broad or two narrow letters. The breadth and angle of the following descending diagonal suggest alpha in particular, while the slightly concave horizontal next to it suits best the upper part of xi (cf. 4), so that we should presumably read ] ἀξ[ι]ο]ν [ . If so, unless the preceding lacuna contained a deletion, then we have a variant reading, for the manuscripts read καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιόν ἐστιν (Gal. *Loc. aff.* 6.5 adds λόγου after πολλοῦ). Not much remains of the first two letters, but πολ]λον is possible (the small trace of the first letter, high in the line, appears to be the top of a vertical, and could be consistent with lambda; it certainly does not suggest a horizontal, which speaks against λο]γον).

9 ζυγκάμπτειν. Of first letter, foot of curve curling upwards, supporting the reading of sigma rather than the Ionic form with xi (contrast προσξυνίενα[ι at 4).

10 ] . . . The manuscripts have πολύ, but the damaged traces do not seem to allow for this



reading: there is a short, high horizontal, followed by a blob which would be too small for omicron, then an indeterminate trace not easily identifiable with any letter form.

→ 1 Directly above  $\pi\epsilon$  in 2, a small hook belonging to either epsilon or sigma is visible. A trace of ink above it would seem more likely to be part of epsilon's horizontal, but may also be that of sigma. By comparison with the transmitted text of *Art.*, the only possible candidate at this point is the epsilon of  $\epsilon\tilde{\eta}$ , and the sequence ]  $\xi\{\eta\}$   $\tau\omega\{\nu\}$   $\iota\{\chi\iota\omega\nu\}$  appears to be consistent with the remaining traces.

2 On the basis of the reconstructed line, the text agrees with B in reading  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}$ , against MV's  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma\omega$ .

2-3 The papyrus tallies with the medieval manuscripts in the situation of the passage  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\ \dots\ \rho\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma$ , which was transposed by Littré, followed by Ermerins, after  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{o}\ \iota\chi\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  [204.11 Kühlewein] (see the editors' comments at iv 248 n. 13 L. and iii 125.6 n. Erm.).

3  $\mu\omicron\gamma\iota\varsigma$ :  $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  codd. B has  $\mu\omicron\gamma\iota\varsigma$  against  $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  in MV at *Art.* 1 [112.3 Kw. = iv 80.1 L.], but the manuscripts are in agreement in reading  $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  at *Art.* 5 [117.3 Kw. = iv 86.16 L.]. There is little consistency in the distribution of these variants in the medieval tradition of the Hippocratic Corpus, as can be seen, for example, from a glance at J.-H. Kühn, U. Fleischer, *Index Hippocraticus* (Göttingen 1986) s. vv.  $\mu\omicron\gamma\iota\varsigma$  and  $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ .

4  $\eta\nu$  with B (adopted by Littré and Kühlewein):  $\epsilon\iota$  MV.

9  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ :  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$  codd. The reading should not simply be regarded as an error, and it is unlikely that it represents a vulgarism, otherwise attested in Ptolemaic papyri (cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* 12.2 67). On the other hand, it cannot be explained as a dialectal variant, since neuter pronominal forms in  $-\omicron\nu$  are attested, for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  alone, in Attic more than in Ionic, but are in any case present in both (E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* i 610). The reading can perhaps be interpreted as a form of the masculine accusative, referring to the patient, who is the logical subject of the whole passage. If so, it parallels a usage of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  attested elsewhere in the surgical treatises, in which it is used with reference to patients even when they have not been named in what precedes: cf. *Art.* 37 [158.13 Kw. = iv 166.6 L.], 38 [159.14 Kw. = iv 168.4 L.], but the passage has a difficult structure.

10 After  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$  (restored), B adds  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ .

fr. 3

→ 1 [ $\omicron$ ]  $\kappa\{\omicron\omicron\iota\varsigma\}$ . What remains of the putative kappa is the top of an upright with left-facing serif, which is sometimes found in kappa, but not in iota; this suggests reading  $\omicron\kappa\omicron\omicron\iota\varsigma$  with MV, but excludes B's  $\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . The adoption of the manuscripts' text results in a longer than average line, pointing to an omission or variant in the papyrus:  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  before  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma$  is omitted in B and Ap., but it is doubtful whether such an omission alone could account for the discrepancy.

1-2  $\omicron\nu\}\tau\omega\varsigma$  with MV:  $\omicron\nu\tau\omega$  B.

2  $\omicron\pi\iota\varsigma\omega$  (restored) om. Ap.

3  $\tau\alpha$  (restored) om. B.

5  $\eta\varsigma\omega$  with BV:  $\eta\iota\varsigma$  (ci sscr.) M.

6  $\omega\nu$ :  $\omicron\delta\nu$  codd. The form  $\omicron\delta\nu$ , about which P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* s.v.  $\omicron\delta\nu$ , expressed doubts, is considered Ionic by F. Bechtel, *Die griechische Dialekte* iii 239, who cites some examples from the Hippocratic Corpus, even if the tradition is often divided. For instances of variants among the manuscripts, cf. e.g. *Vict.* 4.87 [vi 642 L. = p. 98.10 Joly]  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\ \delta'\ \omicron\delta\nu$  [M:  $\acute{\omega}\nu\ \theta$ : om. Littré]  $\omicron\delta\ \delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega$ ; perhaps also a trace in *V.M.* 7.1 [i 584.7 L. = p. 126.3 Jouanna]:  $\omicron\delta\nu$  M, but  $\omicron\delta\nu$  in A has  $\omicron\nu$  deleted by A<sup>2</sup>. In any case the form is regularly attested in the Herodotean tradition.

↓ 1  $\omicron\delta\omicron\iota\omicron\pi\omicron\rho\}\epsilon\iota\nu$ . The manuscripts transmit the hyper-Ionic  $\omicron\delta\omicron\iota\omicron\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\epsilon\nu$ , whose presence in the papyrus cannot be excluded.

2-3 A reconstruction of the lines on the basis of Kühlewein's text results in a shorter-than-average line length:  $\delta\delta\omicron\iota\omicron\pi\omicron\rho\}\epsilon\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu\ \xi\acute{\upsilon}\{\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\}$   $\tau\acute{o}\ \kappa\omega\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\{\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\ \dots$

3  $\omicron\nu\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ . (Nothing remains of the top horizontal of the putative gamma, but it cannot be iota, since the latter does not normally descend below the line). Perhaps a corruption of  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \gamma\epsilon$ , and thus a variant (elsewhere unattested) of  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon$  in the codices, corresponding to the previous  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon$ .

Alpha at line end is written smaller and above the line.

3ff. Reconstruction on the basis of Kühlewein's text repeatedly yields shorter-than-average lines. The text of the passage concerned, with the corresponding portions of the papyrus highlighted, is as follows (ch. 60 [p. 208.10-17 Kw. = iv 256.14-20 L.]):  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\ \epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\tau\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \iota\gamma\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ .  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \omicron\delta\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\acute{\iota}\eta\nu\ \epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\theta\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\iota\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\eta}\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\iota\omicron\pi\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\ \chi\acute{\rho}\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\alpha\ \grave{\eta}\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$ .  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \gamma\acute{\eta}\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\ \rho\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\upsilon\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\tau\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\rho\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\ \beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\iota\ \pi\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\eta}\kappa\sigma\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\eta}\iota\ \pi\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\eta\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \grave{\eta}\ \tau\acute{o}\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \acute{\eta}\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\ \pi\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu\ \dots$

4  $\epsilon\iota\theta\nu\gamma\omega$ :  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\theta\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\iota$  codd. It is possible that the corrupt text has arisen from a mistaken reading of a damaged exemplar.

5 Of the first three letters, an upright with trace of ligature joining the next, another upright and a small round trace. Of sigma, the upper right extremity is visible, joined to the following letter; the trace could be consistent also with  $\epsilon$ . The traces are so uncertain that it is impossible to identify the text, but the initial traces do not accord well with the manuscripts'  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$  before  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\{\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\}$ .

6  $\tau\}\omicron\nu\ \pi\omicron\delta\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \omicron\nu$ . Unless we wish to regard  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \omicron\upsilon$  as the result of a false reading of  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon$  in the codices through simplification and assimilation, we are confronted with an interesting variant, which presupposes a different syntactical structure.

7 ]  $\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\iota$ . In this case it is difficult to account for the text as the result of a mechanical error: the presence of the negative before  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$  implies a contradictory text, according to which those affected by an untreated hip dislocation do not put their weight on the whole sole of the foot as they walk. This must also have consequences for the following phrase (according to Littré's translation, *en effet, ils ne marchent pas moins avec le talon qu'avec la partie antérieure*).

D. MANETTI / D. LEITH

#### 4970. PROSE MENTIONING THE HIPPOCRATIC OATH

112/38

17 × 6.4 cm

Second century  
Plate I

An excerpted text copied against the fibres on the back of a land register. The papyrus has been cut from a much larger roll to accommodate only the six lines of text preserved, and all edges are intact except the right. At their deepest, the upper margin measures 1.7 cm, the lower 1.1 cm. At left, the incision bisects the first letter of the last line, suggesting that the papyrus was cut, or at least trimmed, after the excerpt was written. At right, two strips of the underlying layer of papyrus project some 2 cm opposite 3-4 and 6. The upper strip in particular terminates in a clean edge, 1 cm in breadth, which lines up precisely with the much narrower extremity of the less intact lower strip. It is possible that these edges preserve the original

incision at the right, indicating that perhaps only a piece 2 cm in width of the upper surface of the papyrus has been lost. This would be consistent with the restorations that have suggested themselves, especially at 3, 4 and 5, but there are textual difficulties at 2 which cannot be satisfactorily resolved according to this reconstruction (see 2), and the text breaks off mid-sentence at 6. I am inclined to accept the reconstruction as presented below, on the grounds of improbability that such an intelligible text could result at 3–5 if it were wrong, but it cannot perhaps be ruled out that there were more substantial losses at right.

The text is written in a somewhat ill-formed rounded hand. Sharp, right-facing hooks are found often at the bottom of descenders. It is characterized by rounded ε with cross-stroke sometimes touching the upper arc; ϑ with midstroke projecting to the right and often touching the following letter; c with relatively straight top-stroke; V-shaped γ. It displays general affinities with the third hand of *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 68 (later ii, assigned) and *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 22 (ii, assigned), and may likewise be assigned a date in the second century.

There is a single instance of itacism (3). Inorganic diaeresis is employed at 1 and 6.

The text appears to derive from the prooemium of a medical treatise (see 1 and 2 nn.), its explicitly pedagogical content suggesting that this may have been some form of introductory manual. The author affirms the ethical importance of the Hippocratic *Oath* as the initial subject of study for the student of medicine.

PSI XII 1275, also from Oxyrhynchus and assigned to the second century, offers some interesting points of comparison. Its text occupies a relatively small space on the back of the final sheet of a roll which contained *Iliad* 23, with some additional marginal scribblings and a short passage copied on the other side. It is certainly excerpted from the prooemium of a medical manual, and names the book's addressee, Demosthenes. There are obvious parallels with 4970 in its introductory formula (see 2 n.). Most interestingly, it offers an opposing view on where medical education should begin, instead emphasising the basic necessity of learning the names of the parts of the body, a subject to which the treatise was apparently devoted. It thus seems plausible that both texts were deliberately excerpted by certain physicians in second-century Oxyrhynchus with a direct interest in medical education.

The text of 4970, on the other hand, is closely paralleled by Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones* pref. 5 (composed in 47/8), who asserts that 'Hippocrates, the founder of our profession, has handed down that the beginning of learning should be from the *Oath* (*initia disciplinae ab iureiurando tradidit*), . . . for a long time moulding the minds of students towards humanity.' From late antiquity, within the context of the more formal Alexandrian medical curricula, recommendations for the beginning student to read and learn the Hippocratic *Oath* first are made by Stephanus of Athens, *In Hip. Aph.* pref. [*CMG* XI 1.3.1 p. 30.25–6 Westerink], and ps.-Oribasius,

*In Hip. Aph.* pref. [ed. J. G. von Andernach (Basel 1535) 9]: *etenim qui inicianur arti, primo legant sacramentum ipsius Hippocratis, inde librum praeceptorum, tertio librum hunc, in quo totius artis speculatio continetur* (on ps.-Oribasius' treatise, see P. Kibre, *Hippocrates latinus* (New York 1985) 19–23). Gregory of Nazianzus' statement that his Christian brother had no ethical need for the *Oath* during his Alexandrian medical education (*Or.* 7.10) is perhaps to be understood as alluding to a corresponding initial stage.

By contrast, Rufus of Ephesus, *De corporis humani appellationibus* pref. 6–7 [134.3–7 Daremberg–Ruelle], agrees with the author of the PSI text in prioritizing anatomical nomenclature in medical education. A variety of views on this topic, however, is attested in the Roman period. The utility of definitions in general relevant to the medical art, especially for the student, is emphasised by the ps.-Galenic author of *Def. med.* pref. [xix 346 K.], while the author of a text preserved in BKT III 22–26, laments that students of surgery are taught merely about the history and theory of their art, and lack the basic knowledge necessary for its practice. Some also advocated different Hippocratic treatises as the initial subjects of study for medical students, such as *Off.* (Gal. *In Hip. Off.* pref. [xviii/B 632 K.]) and *Aph.* (Gal. *In Hip. Aph.* I [xvii/B 351 K.]), both containing prefaces that were interpreted as introductory to the whole of medicine. In the context of what appears to have been a much wider debate concerning the proper foundation of medical learning, this excerpt emphasizes the importance of ethics to the medical profession, and of the authority of the Hippocratic *Oath* in this connection.

Along with the third-century papyri XXXI 2547, preserving a text of the *Oath*, and III 437, containing indirect references to two of the *Oath*'s prohibitions, apparently in a surgical context, this fragment offers additional testimony for the uses made of the Hippocratic *Oath* in Oxyrhynchus. In particular, it suggests a plausible connection with medical teaching in the metropolis, which is paralleled by the inclusion of the *Oath* in the Alexandrian medical curricula attested by later sources. It may be remarked too, in this regard, that there is no evidence that the *Oath* was ever sworn in the post-Classical period, or that it was regarded as more than an authoritative text for ethical reflection in medicine. It is noteworthy that in the (admittedly late) passages cited above, Stephanus of Athens urges students to learn (ἐκμανθάνειν) the *Oath*, ps.-Oribasius to read (*legere*) it.

τῶν νέων τοῖ[ς κ]ατὰ λόγον εἰς τὴν ἰατρικὴν [ε]ἰσα[γ]ομέν[οις,  
θεωρήματα, π[ρο]ε[χ]ρήκον ἐστίν, ὡς ἔγωγαί διαλαμβάνω, [  
ἐν πρώτοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱπποκράτιου ὄρκου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς [  
μαθήσεως ποιεῖ[ν] θάι, ὥσπερ νόμου δικαιοτάτου κα[ὶ]  
5 εφόδρα βιωφελος[τ] καθεστῶτος. τοῖς γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο μ[ε]-  
ταγωγῆθεις(ι) ἄ[π]ταιστον ἅμα τὸν ἐν τῷ ἰατρύειν [  
5

1 ἰατρικὴν 2 ἰ. ἔργω 3 ἰ. Ἱπποκρατείου 5 τοῖς: c corr. from τ 1. τοῦτου?  
6 ἰατρῆν

'For those young men who are being introduced in a systematic way to medicine . . . it is proper, as I see it at least, in the first place to make the beginning of learning from the Hippocratic Oath, since it was established as a most just law and extremely useful for life. For to those who have been initiated through it (?), . . . in medicine . . . at once unerring . . .'

1 At line beginning, there appears to be a short horizontal to the left of tau's crossbar; it may however belong to the tau, whose crossbar in this hand generally extends slightly further to the left of the upright than it does to its right.

Formulae such as this, which describe beginning students of medicine, recur in various prooemia to introductory medical manuals. Cf. e.g. ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* pref. [xix 346 K.]; Galen's later addition of the subscription 'τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις' to the titles of some of his early works, viz. e.g. *De sect.*, *De oss.*, *De puls.* (see *De libr. propr.* 1 [Scr. min. II 93-4 Mueller]); and PSI XII 1275.1-2, quoted below, 2 n. This excerpt would seem to sit most easily in such a context.

τοῖς κ]ατὰ λόγον. The formulation lends support to M. Manfredi's suggested emendation to τοῖς κατὰ λόγον at PSI XII 1275.1, where the papyrus reads τοικκαταλογοις. The construal τοῖς καταλόγοις, however, is defended by G. Azzarello in Andorlini, *Testi* 239-40 n. 5. The phrase seems to isolate a particular form of medical education, one that was systematic or governed by reason, and apparently distinguishable from other, less stringent, ways of gaining medical knowledge. These papyrus texts clearly imply a notion, or at least an ideal, of a formal, systematically structured medical training associated in particular with young people. The texts discussed above that offer alternative views on where to begin medical education attest to the fluidity of such an ideal in the Roman period and the controversies over what such training should consist in.

2 θεωρήματα. This word is extraneous to the syntax of the sentence as reconstructed. The term does, however, surface in discussions of the utility of practical as opposed to theoretical knowledge for the student of medicine (cf. e.g. ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* pref. [xix 346 K.]; BKT III 22-26 II 20-25), which might be thought to bear some relevance to our author's concerns. This could of course be an indication that the lacuna at right was more extensive, with θεωρήματα representing the object of a lost infinitive construed with π[ρο]σῆκον, or indeed that the beginning of the sentence is missing. The possibility of emending ἐργω at 2 to εἰσαγωγαί, followed by the infinitive διαλαμβάνειν, is suggested by Professor Andorlini, but it is unclear precisely what this would mean or how it would be reconcilable with the rest of the sentence. On the other hand, the subsequent reconstruction of the text makes excellent sense, with ποιεῖσθαι in 4 modifying π[ρο]σῆκον. I have considered whether the text up to and including θεωρήματα may represent a heading, but it is not presented as such, and it is difficult to see how the Oath itself or the subsequent text might be classified as medical theorems. It might alternatively be suggested that θεωρήματα could be accounted for as a corruption of the name of the work's addressee (e.g. Θέωρε). The close similarity in expression and syntax of this introductory clause with that found at PSI 1275.1-3, where the addressee's name appears in a corresponding position in the sentence, may support this hypothesis (πάν νέων τοῖς κατὰ λόγον εἰς τὸ ἰατρῆν προσάγουσιν, ὁ Δημόθεος), though the putative corruption remains difficult to account for.

3 τῆς [. A curved descender survives, as of the back of ε, ο, c. A genitive is surely called for after ἀρχήν, and the likelihood that τῆς is the article of μαθήσεως in 4 seems overwhelming, especially in light of the parallel which this phrase finds in Scribonius' *institia disciplinae* (see above).

4-5 It seems unavoidable to read the two genitive phrases as parts of the same genitive absolute completed by καθεστῶτος in 5, and thus to restore καί at 4.

5 διὰ τοῦτο. It is unclear to what τοῦτο could logically refer in the context (the fact that the

beginning of learning should be made from the Oath; that it was established as a most just law), and it seems preferable to emend to τοῦτου, i.e. the Oath itself. διὰ + gen. is regular with μυσταγωγέω.

5-6 μ[υ]σταγωγῆθεις(ι). The article τοῖς at 5 seems to demand the emendation to the dative plural participle. There is nothing with which a feminine participle μυσταγωγῆθαις might agree in what remains, and there seems no way to make sense of the subsequent sequence except by reading ἀ[π]ρακτον. The metaphor of religious initiation is used in the context of medical education most famously at Hp. *Law* 5, a text which may lurk somewhere in the background of this fragment (note the description of the Oath as a νόμος in 4). Cf. also, e.g. Gal. *UP* 12.6 [II 196 Helmreich]. The use of the term μυσταγωγέω need imply nothing about the Oath's being sworn as such.

6 ἀ[π]ρακτον. The final sentence of this excerpt is incomplete, and breaks off abruptly at the end of the line, perhaps indicating that the copyist was primarily interested in the first sentence. Considering the ethical content, we might expect a reference to the 'unerring' or 'infallible' conduct in medical practice produced in the student by his adherence to the Oath, as e.g. ἀ[π]ρακτον ἅμα τὸν ἐν τῷ ἰατρῆν | [βίον, with a subsequent impersonal verb governing the dative (for βίος in a broadly similar sense, cf. *Oath* ἀγνώσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀλίως διατηρήσω βίον ἐμὸν καὶ τέχνην ἐμήν). Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones* pref. 5 focuses on the Oath's prohibition of abortives, and envisages the positive effect this will have on the student's respect for human life: 'to those who consider it a crime to injure the uncertain hope of a person [i.e. the foetus], how much more wicked will they judge it to harm a person fully-formed?' If, as suggested, this sentence went on to emphasize the resulting faultlessness of the doctor's conduct, it is perhaps more likely that the author had in mind not only the Oath's prohibitions concerning therapeutic practice, but also those regarding the doctor's more general relations with his patients.

D. LEITH

#### 4971. MEDICAL TREATISE

101/43(d)

7 × 14.5 cm

First/second century  
Plate I

Damaged remains of a single column of 21 extant lines, of which a fairly generous upper margin survives, extending to 4 cm at its deepest, as well as small portions of the left and right margins. The back is blank. This is a finely produced copy, and its hand is a fair-sized informal round hand adhering to strict bilinearity, with β extending above the line, φ above and below. λ is sometimes found in older capital form with horizontal cross-bar (e.g. 2, 13, 14); ε is round, often with high midstroke touched by upper arc, and once written in a single movement (15); μ is deep and curved; η has high cross-bar; γ is generally Y-shaped with wide shallow curve, though more cursively written at 12; ω is written in two separate strokes (cf. esp. 2, 17). Descenders are often adorned with small finials. It may be assigned to the late first or perhaps early second century, comparable with *GLH* 11b (94) and *P. Lond. Lit.* 22 (Kenyon, *Pal. Gr. Pap.* pp. 97-8 and pl. XIX) (first or second century, assigned). There are notable similarities to *LXV* 4453 (first century, assigned) and *LXII* 4307 (second century, assigned). The content of the text itself suggests a *terminus post quem* for its composition of the mid first century.

*Paragraphus* is found below 1, accompanied by a high dot, to mark section end. No space between letters was made for the high dot, and it may have been added subsequently, though there is no obvious difference in the ink used. Iota adscript is recorded (see 5).

The fragment focuses on the important and recurrent question in therapeutic literature as to the correct time to give food in illness (cf. e.g. Celsus 3.4.6–10), and apparently in universal terms rather than in connection with a specific disease (cf. plural *πάθη* at 3 and 10). The author states that food should generally be given on the more serious day, the use of the comparative indicating that he has in mind one of two days, and further confirmed by the further specification that it should be given after the paroxysm, which according to this author occurs for the most part every third day, i.e. counting inclusively every other day (*διὰ τρίτης*, 2–3). Thus food is to be prescribed first on the third day of an illness and every other day until its abatement, and after the paroxysm that will fall on those days.

This simple scheme coincides precisely with what is known of the therapeutic system of the *diatrius*, developed by the Methodist physician Thessalus of Tralles, whose successful career at Rome overlapped with the reign of Nero (see D. Leith, 'The Diatrius and Therapy in Graeco-Roman Medicine', *CQ* 58 (2008) 581–600). The *diatrius* represents the recurrent third day of an illness (the third, fifth, seventh days, etc.), and according to its system, which also governed the use of most forms of dietetic therapy, food is to be prescribed cyclically on these days, in exactly the manner specified on 4971. The patient was also fed on these days only after the paroxysm had occurred. The notion, certainly not shared by all ancient physicians, that an illness's paroxysm would for the most part occur on the third day is associated in our sources with the Methodists generally and with the *diatrius* in particular (e.g. Sext. Emp. *PH* 2.237–8; Stephanus of Athens, *Comm. in prior. Gal. Ther. ad Glauc.* 7 [ed. K. Dickson, *Stephanus the Philosopher and Physician* (1998) 48.4–7]). This system, with its fixation on the recurrent third day alone, is not adopted by Celsus, for example, or the pre-Thessalian doctors whose opinions he summarises at *De med.* 3.4.6–7. It is anathema to Galen, who could attack it on the grounds that the paroxysm also often occurs every day or every three days, as in quotidian or quartan fever (e.g. *Meth. med.* 8.3 [x 561.7–11 K.]), and furthermore that food at times ought to be given before the paroxysm (e.g. *Meth. med.* 10.3 [x 678.11–14 K.]).

This fragment thus appears to preserve a general account of the mechanics of the *diatrius* system by an adherent. It would as such be unique, for the remaining evidence consists generally of open criticism, or of isolated mentions found in therapeutic recommendations for specific diseases. This new testimony offers further confirmation of the importance attached to the occurrence of the paroxysm in the system of the *diatrius*.

The *diatrius* is elsewhere mentioned on papyrus at PSI inv. CNR 85/86<sup>1</sup> ii 43–44 (late first or early second century) [ed. partim I. Andorlini, in Andorlini,

'Specimina' 153–68], and most likely on the Greek medical fragment P. Golenischeff (third century), at ii 11 (see *GMP* II 15). Works by Thessalus are known to have been circulating in Egypt by the third century. P. Vars. 5.23 [= R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* (Rome 2000) no. 17] mentions Thessalus, along with his Methodist predecessor Themison at 26b, in a list of books. P. Horak 2, a title tag with the inscription *Θεσσαλού περι τοῦ φιλιατρειν τοὺς εὐεχήμενας ἀνδρας*, is also very likely to refer to the Methodist. See too LII 3654 8 n. for Thessalus' possible influence. Methodists were certainly well established in Alexandria by the mid second century, in particular Julian of Alexandria and possibly therefore his teacher Apollonides of Cyprus (cf. *Gal. Meth. med.* 1.7 [x 53–5 K.]; *Adv. Jul.* 1.1 [xviii/1 248 K.]). According to *Suda* Σ 851, Soranus of Ephesus also spent time there, perhaps at the end of the first century. The author of the present text, if not Thessalus himself, would seem to have been at least influenced by his doctrine. Although the *diatrius* was adopted unsystematically by apparently non-Methodist physicians, such as the so-called Anonymus Parisinus, author of *On Acute and Chronic Diseases*, the detailed discussion found on the papyrus suggests a direct engagement with Methodist doctrine.

	τοικαιροικειδιδοντα·ε·[	τοικαιροικειδιδόντα·ε·[
	επειδιατριτηςωσταπο[	ἐπεὶ διὰ τρίτης ὡς τὰ πο[λλὰ
	παροξυνετα·ταπαθητ[	παροξύνεται τὰ πάθη, τ[ῆν
	τροφηκατατοπλειστ[	τροφὴν κατὰ τὸ πλείστ[ον
5	εντηβαρυτερ··τακτεον[	ἐν τῇ βαρυτέραι τακτέον
	·]πο·εξαμε·ουστονπα[	ἀ]ποδεξαμένους τὸν πα-
	·]ξυμοντηνημεντοι·[	ρο]ξυμόν· τῆν μέντοι π[α-
	·]εσιωπεφυλαχμενη·[	ράθ]εσιω πεφυλαχμένην
	·]εισθαιδειμεχριτης	τηρ]εἶσθαι δεῖ μέχρι τῆς
10	·]κηητωνπαθωνο	παρ]ακμῆς τῶν παθῶν ο-
	·]ιδοντασεανμητρο[	·]διδόντας, εἰ μὴ τρο-
	·]ηταιιχυραπεριτα[	πῆ γίν]ηται ἰχυρὰ περὶ τα[ύ-
	·]σσωμασινηαποστ[	την το]ῖς σώμασιν ἢ ἀποστ[
	·]σουσααθενεια	·]ησουσα ἀθένεια
15	·]ωδεισεπυσεισε	·]ώδεισ επυσεισε
	·]στινοσαλλης[	·]πὸ τινοσ ἀλλῆς [
	·]αλυωνταιδιατα[	·]κα]ταλύωνται διὰ τα[
	·]δυν·μεισαπερεν[	·]δυνάμεις ἄπερ ἐν [
	·]ω[·]υμβαινειτο[	·]ω[ι] συμβαίνει το[
20	·]ινοσαπαν	
	·]γκα[·]ονκ[	

1 [ ], ε's crossbar meets damaged vertical, apparently at top c; the remaining portion of the letter has become dislodged, but is touching small loop high in line, as of π, indistinct traces Δ, or λ, upright 7 ]ξ, extremes of horizontals above and below below, topped by a trait projecting slightly to left, apparently horizontal, as of π, but diagonal of N cannot be excluded 8 ]ε, remains consistent with extremes of ε's crossbar and lower arc vertical topped by trait projecting to left, followed by lower extreme of vertical, as of N, π 10 ], extreme of diagonal touching subsequent letter at foot 11 ], downward tending diagonal, with descender touching near top, as of λ, Δ, λ ρ], left part of circle, with no evidence of crossbar, most resembling ο, but c possible 12 ]η, vertical, with very faint trace of horizontal to left at two-thirds height 13 ], trace of vertical's foot; available space seems to demand 14 ], small trait projected above τ's crossbar, with foot of steep diagonal tending to left in line 15 ], lower part of vertical 16 ], π, ρ also possible 17 ], upright leaning to right 18 ], fibres twisted, but vertical visible, curving to right at the foot 19 ], remains of curve visible to left of break, and end of descending stroke high in line to right 20 ], end of horizontal touching subsequent letter high in line, as of c or τ 21 ], extremes of diagonal and horizontal meeting low in line, and touching foot of γ 22 ], extreme of diagonal touching λ's foot 23 ], trace of extreme of horizontal low in line 24 ], γ, end of horizontal touching subsequent letter high in line 25 ], diagonal rising from foot of previous letter, then descender

'... giving ... the stages ... [Then?], since the affections reach a paroxysm in most cases every third day, one must prescribe food generally on the heavier (day), having received the paroxysm. It is necessary to make sure that the prescription is maintained until the abatement of the affections, giving (food) [in the same way?], unless a strong change happens to the bodies around this (day) or weakness ... some other ... their strength is destroyed, which happens ...'

1 Masculine plural participles refer to the physician at 6 and 11, which seems to preclude the possibility that *διδόντα* here does likewise. It is impossible to say what the participle may agree with, whether masculine singular or neuter plural, or indeed whether it governs the dative *καιροίς*. The *καιροί* meant here are the stages of a disease (beginning, increase, crisis and abatement—either of the whole disease from start to finish or of its partial phases marked by consecutive paroxysms), employed as an important framework for assigning therapeutics to their correct times by many ancient physicians, including the Methodists.

ε. [ ]. A small fragment, detached, but which belongs here, may preserve the intersection between midstroke of epsilon and top of vertical (cf. *πλειε-*, 4), suggesting ε[ ]τα.

5 βαρυτέραι. There is space for iota adscript, though the damaged traces preclude a certain reading. The 'heavier' day refers to the more severe presentation of a disease, and thus the day on which the paroxysm falls. Cf. e.g. Gal. *De diebus dex.* 3.8 [ix 927 K.]; ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* 203 [xix 402 K.]; Celsus 3.4.13, with *gravior* in the same sense.

9 τηρ]είεθαι. Alternatively perhaps ποι]είεθαι.

10–11 δ[ ]μοίως seems the most likely supplement. δ[ ]λίγην or δ[ ]μοίαν (sc. τροφήν) might be considered. There is, however, no reference to quantity or quality of food in the preceding sentence, but merely guidance as to the time at which food is to be administered. A further reference to the need to continue the same procedures here would seem more appropriate.

11–13 ἰσχυρά in this context seems to demand the restoration of τροπή rather than τροφή: cf. e.g. Herodotus med. *apud* Aët. *Iatr.* 5.133 [CMG VIII 2.109.10–11 Olivieri], where ἰσχυρά τροπή is used to describe a dramatic downturn in the patient's humoral constitution which can occur after the paroxysm of a certain form of fever. Together with the weakness referred to at 14, this concessive

conditional appears to describe the possibility of a more serious collapse in the patient's health, to be distinguished from the paroxysm, which demands that the normal prescription of food according to the *diatrihus* (7–11) be abandoned.

13–14 ἀποστ[ ]... ]ηκουα ἀεθένεια. A plausible supplement is perhaps ἀποστ[ε]νοχωρ]ήκουα, i.e. 'weakness that will cause narrowing'. This particular compound is attested in a medical work only at ps.-Gal., *Def. med.* 219 [xix 408 K.], to describe the narrowing of the artery in an anomalous pulse. If a Methodist context is accepted for this text, then the notion of 'narrowing' might well refer to the alteration of the 'pores' (πόροι) in the body which underlies the concepts of the 'constricted' and 'lax' commonalities, deriving ultimately from the corpuscular theory of Asclepiades of Bithynia. Concerning food in particular, one might compare Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 687b–e, where a physician Philo, perhaps identifiable with the Methodist of that name (cf. M. Tecusan, *The Fragments of the Methodists* (2004) fr. 269 and p. 52), directly attributes thirst and hunger to an alteration in the constitution of the pores. Perhaps cf. also BKT III 19–21.5–11, which Kalbfleisch speculated may have been a Methodist work, in which the physician, should he judge it the right time to cause narrowing in the treatment of constipation (εἰ στενοχωροῦμε[θα π]ερὶ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν), will postpone giving food, and other treatments, until the next day. The therapeutic principle of *metasygnosis*, also associated by Galen with Thessalus (cf., e.g., *Meth. med.* [x 268 K.]), involves the deliberate alteration of the pores, but is designed only for the treatment of chronic diseases during periods of remission, and cannot be related to this immediate context.

15 ἐπυσειε. The sequence presents considerable difficulties. The traces of the second letter are consistent with pi, if not a perfectly formed one, with two clear verticals topped by a horizontal which does not project beyond them on either side. Indeed, the horizontal does not appear quite to touch the second vertical, which would suggest rather ρι, but some slight damage to the surface of the papyrus at this point could well account for this. The overall impression is also somewhat distorted by the very wide bowl of upsilon following, which touches the second vertical above. We would most naturally expect a plural noun after an adjective ending ]ώδεις, but there seem to be no satisfactory possibilities; the reading γρ can be excluded (as in ἐγρύσειε, reading ἐκρύσειε; for internal γ > κ, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 79). ἐπυσειε might alternatively be read as the future indicative ἐποίσει (cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 197–8), but εε- at the end of the line is difficult to account for (the blank gap after epsilon seems to be sufficient to indicate that it is the last letter of the line). Unfortunately no other plausible explanations have presented themselves.

16–19 At 16, the vertical stroke at the break would be consistent with pi, to give presumably either υ]πό or α]πό τιμος ἄλλης. At the beginning of 17, the remains of a high horizontal touching alpha's oblique are consistent with sigma or tau. While ἀλύω is attested in the Hippocratic Corpus, it is rare; καταλύω is much more common in medical literature, and, given the reference to weakness in disease in this fragment, apparently much more desirable in sense. καταλύωνται, then, construed as passive, suggests υ]πό τιμος ἄλλης in the previous line, and some such word as αἰτίας might just fit at the beginning of 17. If we take υ]πό τιμος ἄλλης as referring to the agent in this way, then διά at 17 is presumably not used in its causal sense: perhaps διά τα[ύ]της, i.e., 'on this day'? In view of the neuter plural relative ἅπερ at 18, δυνάμεις should be taken either as the subject of καταλύωνται (αἱ δυνάμεις) or as an accusative of respect (τὰς δυνάμεις), the subject then being the patients themselves. Given the subject matter of the fragment, perhaps ἅπερ ἐν [ ] [διατρίτ]ω[ι] συμβαίνει should be restored ('... which happens in the *diatrihus* ...'), as suggested by Professor Andorlini.

21 ἀνα]γκασ[ ]ον κ[ ]?

## 4972. DIVISION OF SURGERY

50 4B.24/K(3-4)

5.5 × 19.5 cm

Second/third century  
Plate VIII

Remains of a single column containing 43 lines, written on the back of a letter. Parts survive of the right margin only.

The text is copied in a small-sized, informal hand with little attempt at linearity, the lines themselves often tapering downwards as they proceed in the middle portion of the column. ε often leans to the right, with midstroke at times extended to meet the following letter; η has a high horizontal joining the top of its second vertical; μ appears somewhat flattened with curved diagonal obliques; ω is particularly broad and written in a single fluid movement, barely rising in the middle. It would seem to admit of a second-century dating (cf. LII 3654, LI 3643, GLH 15c, the first hand of XXXI 2536 = GMAW<sup>2</sup> 61), but the apostrophe used to separate double consonants (28, 29, 35, 36) may well point to a date in the early third century (cf. GMAW<sup>2</sup> p. 11).

The text is organized into sections by headings in the form of a question. For medical papyri in question-and-answer format, see esp. I. Andorlini, 'Testi medici per la scuola: raccolte di definizioni e questionari nei papiri', in A. Garzya, J. Jouanna (eds.), *Les Textes médicaux grecs: Tradition et ecdotique* (Naples 1999) 7-15; more recently published examples are GMP I 6 (see also A. E. Hanson, 'Text and Context in Papyrus Catechisms on Afflictions of the Head', in A. Garzya, J. Jouanna (eds.), *Trasmissione e ecdotica dei testi medici greci* (Naples 2004) 199-217), P. Strasb. gr. inv. 849 (ed. C. Magdelaine, in Andorlini, *Testi* 63-77), and P. Oslo inv. 1576 (ed. A. Maravela-Solbakk, D. Leith, in *Pap. Congr. XXIV* (2007) ii 637-50).

The question-headings (21-3, 26-7, 33-4) are in *eisthesis*; whether they were also accompanied by *paragraphe* or *diple*, as e.g. on P. Aberd. 11 and PSI III 252 respectively, is impossible to determine, given the loss of line beginnings. Horizontal traits are employed to mark the ends of answers at 20 and 32. Itacism is prevalent, with ει almost everywhere represented by ι. There are two *hapax legomena*, *τομικός* (7-8) and *ἐγκατατομικός* (16-17).

The text preserves a systematic exposition of surgery, unparalleled in scope and complexity, consisting in divisions firstly into its 'forms' (*εχηματα*, cf. 7), which may be understood as the forms or categories of knowledge that surgery encompasses, and secondly into different classes of surgical operations distinguished primarily by their therapeutic or cosmetic aims. The text can thus be divided into two sections, at 1-20 and 21-42 respectively.

Some idea of the bewildering array of highly complex divisions of the parts of medicine in circulation in the second century can be gleaned from such tracts as Gal. *De partibus artis medicativae* (ed. Schöne *CMG Suppl. Or.* II) (for a general dis-

ussion of ancient divisions of medicine, see H. von Staden, *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (Cambridge 1989) 89-108). Conscious systematizations of the parts of medicine are attested from the Classical and early Hellenistic periods on, and a variety of schemes are attributed e.g. to Mnesitheus of Athens (fr. 10-11 Bertier), Herophilus (Γ42-49 von Staden) and Erasistratus (fr. 32 Garofalo). Cels. *De med. pref.* 9 outlines the tripartite division of medicine that became standard, into dietetics, pharmacology, and surgery (already implied in Hp. *Oath* 2-3, 5), but more often this tripartite division is encountered as one of therapeutics, itself a branch of medicine along with various others, differently attested, but including e.g. physiology, pathology, and hygiene (cf. ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* 11 [XIX 351-2 K.]; ps.-Gal. *Intro.* 7 [xiv 689-90 K.]; Gal. *Part. art. med.* 1 [*CMG Suppl. Or.* II 119-20 Schöne]). The Empiricist sect also developed its own peculiar division constructed around its epistemological doctrine, in which surgery represented a subdivision of therapeutics, itself a part of the so-called 'perfective' branch of medicine (see K. Deichgräber, *Die griechische Empirikerschule*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin & Zurich 1965) 288-91).

Extant divisions of surgery are limited either to bipartite divisions (cf. ps.-Sor. *Quaest. med.* 39 [ed. V. Rose, *Anecdota graeca et graeco-latina* (1870) ii 252], based on the natural vs. accidental causes of conditions; and ps.-Gal. *Intro.* 19 [xiv 781 K.], based on operations that aim at synthesis or separation), or to simple lists of various surgical procedures (cf. *Chirurgia Eliodori* [ed. H. E. Sigerist, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 12 (1920) 1-9]). The Methodists' surgical 'commonalities' may also be regarded as a further division (ps.-Gal. *Intro.* 3 [xiv 681 K.]). On papyrus, P. Gen. inv. 1111 preserves a list of definitions of various surgical terms, incorporating parallels with the *Chirurgia Eliodori* (see Marganne, *Chirurgie* 85-95).

The divisions of surgery presented on the papyrus may have formed part of a broader division of medicine as a whole, and it is possible that the present text thus derives from some form of introductory handbook on medicine in general. Given the complexity of the divisions involved, however, which far exceeds those attested in surviving medical handbooks, it is perhaps more likely that we are faced with an introductory section of a treatise specifically on surgery, which provided a systematic, structural analysis of the discipline (cf. e.g. Sor. *Gyn.* 1.1-2, where a discussion of the divisions of gynaecology serves as a preface to, and determines the structure of, the treatise as a whole; note that the text of the *Gynaecia* is also regularly articulated by question-headings). For other examples of surgical texts on preliminary topics, one might compare the discussion of the fundamentals of surgical knowledge found in BKT III 22-26, as well as III 437 (ed. alt. A. Wouters, *Philologus* 121 (1977) 146-9), which offers a description of the best surgeon, a subject that would likewise find a suitable home in the introduction to a surgical treatise (as at Cels. *De med.* 7.4, in the preface to the surgical books; cf. also Sor. *Gyn.* 1.4, with its question-heading *τις ἀρίστη μαία*).

. . . . .  
 μεθοδικόν δὲ τὸ τ[ιως] μεθόδ[ου]  
 τὸ δὲ] σχηματικόν ἐστὶν τὸ τῶ[ν  
 ἐπιτη]δίων σχημάτων ὡς περ  
 5 ὅταν] λέγωμεν ἀνάροπον ἢ  
 κατάρ]ροπον σχηματίζω τὸν  
 κάμν]οντα· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τὸ το-  
 μικόν] ἐστὶν τὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδίων  
 τμημ]άτων ὡς περ ὅταν λέ-  
 10 γωμ[εν] πλαγιοτομῖν ἢ λοξ[ο-  
 τομῖν]· τὸ δὲ καιρικόν ἐστὶν  
 καθ' ὃ δ]ηλοῦνται αἱ μετὰ τῆν  
 χειρου]ργίαν θεραπείαι· τὸ δὲ  
 15 σχημω]τικόν ἐστὶν καθ' ὃ μετὰ  
 τῆν ση]μείωσιν προλέγωμεν  
 ἂν περ]ὶ τῶν ὄντων· ἐγκατα-  
 τομ]ικόν δὲ τὸ τῆς λεγομένης  
 ἐμβρυ]οτομίας· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπ[  
 . . . . .]ν ὀνομάτων γνωριζό-  
 20 μενα] τυγχάνει. —————  
 κατὰ πό]ρους τρόπους  
 τὰ ἐν χειρουργί]α πάθη  
 μεθορεύ]ει;  
 κατὰ] μὲν ἀπλοῦς τρόπους  
 25 β, κατ]ὰ δὲ ἐπιμίκτους β.  
 ποῖοί] εἰσιν οἱ ἀπλοῖ  
 τρόποι;  
 οἱ ἐν]κῆν ἔχοντες ἐπαγγε-  
 λίαν. ἐ]παγγέλλεται γὰρ ἢ εὐ-  
 30 πρέπι]αν ἢ ἀπρέπιαν καὶ πά-  
 λιν ἢ κα]λῶς ζῆν ἢ κακῶς εἰ  
 . . . . .]ερ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῆν. —[  
 ποῖοί] εἰσιν οἱ {αι} ἐπί-  
 μικ[τ]οὶ τρόποι;  
 35 οἱ δις]εῖν ἔχοντες ἀπαγγε-  
 λίαν. ἐ]παγγέλλεται γὰρ ἢ χει-  
 ρουργί]α ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἐ-

πμίκ]τους τρόπους καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν δις]εῖν ἔχον[τ]ων σωτη-  
 40 . . . . π]ροσαγεται [ . . . ] . . .  
 . . . . ]ως ζῆν ἢ κ[ . . . . ] εὐπρε[  
 . . . . ] (vac.)  
 ] . . . . [ ] . . η[

4 l. ἐπιτηδείων 5 ro corr. from ρα 1. ἀνάροπον 6 l. σχηματίζω 8 l. ἐπι-  
 τηδείων 10-11 l. πλαγιοτομῖν ἢ λοξοτομῖν 13 l. θεραπείαι 15 l. σημείωσιν  
 16-17 l. ἐγκατατομικόν 20 l. τυγχάνει 25 l. ἐπιμίκτους 28 επαγγέ 29,  
 36 επαγγέλλεται 29-30 l. εὐπρέπιαν ἢ ἀπρέπιαν 33-4 l. ἐπίμικτοι 35 απαγγε-  
 l. επαγγε- 37-8 l. ἐπιμίκτους

. . . The methodic is that concerned with a particular method. The position-based is that  
 concerned with appropriate positions, as when we speak of positioning the patient tilted up or tilted  
 down. The incision-based form is that concerned with appropriate incisions, as when we speak of  
 cutting obliquely or at an angle. The stage-based is that by which the treatments after surgery are  
 indicated. The semiotic is that by which, after inferring from the signs, we may talk about the present  
 circumstances (sc. of the condition) without being told. The obstetric surgical (sc. form) is that con-  
 cerned with what is known as embryotomy. The rest happen to be recognizable from the names  
 [themselves?].

'In how many ways are the affections in surgery [treated]? In two (?) simple and two com-  
 pound ways.

'What are the simple ways? Those that have a single promise. For (sc. surgery) promises either  
 attractiveness or unattractiveness or else a good or bad quality of life, [if it does not concern?] living  
 itself.

'What are the compound ways? Those that have a double promise (?). For surgery, in those  
 cases according to the mixed ways and in those that have a double (sc. promise), promises preserva-  
 tion (?). . . . is added . . .'

1-20 That further unnamed forms are referred to at 18-20 indicates that they were listed  
 before each was explained individually in the surviving passage. To judge from parallel formula-  
 tions, a total number of forms may also have been given at the beginning, and we can infer that this  
 total would have come to at least nine: the first (lost) being introduced in an initial 'μὲν' clause; the  
 six named in the text; and at least two represented by τὰ δὲ ἄλλα at 18. We can only speculate on  
 what these lost forms may have been. There may, however, be an indirect reference to a comparable  
 division of surgery at ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* 469 [xix 460 K.], where τὸ ὀργανικόν is attested as a part of  
 surgery, encompassing the resetting of fractures (and the instruments used for this purpose). Other  
 possibilities might include bandaging, reduction of dislocations, etc. The introductory question may  
 thus have been something like πόσα τὰ σχήματα τῆς χειρουργίας;

The first four forms listed here broadly parallel extant accounts of surgical operations, which  
 regularly address in order the appropriate procedure to be selected for a given condition, the position  
 of the patient which this demands, the appropriate type of incision, and the post-operative measures  
 to be taken depending on the type of operation (as a representative example, cf. Heliodorus/Antyllus  
*ap. Orib. Coll. med.* 50.3.5-9 [CMG vi 2.2.57 Raeder]).

2 μεθο]δικόν. Restoration is clearly suggested by μεθόδ[ου] at the end of the line. See 16–18 for a parallel construction. This would presumably refer to the selection of a suitable surgical procedure upon examination of the patient. For μέθοδος in a comparable sense, cf. e.g. Paul. Aeg. 6.77.4 [CMG IX 2.120 Heiberg].

3–7 Placing the patient in the correct position for a given operation was naturally an important preliminary for surgery. Various positions are named in the literature, such as the 'seated' (καθέδριον, Aët. Iatr. 15.5 [ed. Zervos, *Athena* 21 (1909) 19]) or the 'Alexandrian' (P. Ryl. III 529r ii 66–76, on which see Marganne, *Chirurgie* 129 and n. 29). For the terms used here, cf. Gal. MM 6.4 [x 415 K.], *σχῆμα δ' ἐπιτήδειον τῷ κάμωντι πρὸς μὲν τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι τῆς τρώσεως γέγεννημένης τὸ ἀνάρροπον, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄνω τὸ κατάρροπον*. These apparently refer to positions in which the patient is lying back on a sloped surface with either the head (ἀνάρροπον) or the feet (κατάρροπον) raised higher.

4 ἐπιτη]δίων. Between 3 and 4, there is a trace of an ascending diagonal above delta, but apparently too high to form part of a letter.

7 κάμων]οντα or πάσχω]οντα.

7–11 Different types of incision were deemed appropriate for different parts of the body and anatomical structures: cf. e.g. Antyllus *ap.* Aët. Iatr. 15.5 [ed. Zervos, *Athena* 21 (1909) 19], *ἀνεπιτήδειος γὰρ ἡ πλαγιοτομία τραχήλῳ, ὅτι τὰ ἀγγεῖα κατ' εὐθὴν τέτακται καὶ τὰ νεύρα*. Antyllus describes three forms of incision at Aët. Iatr. 3.15 [CMG VIII 1.274 Olivieri], that at right angles (presumably relative to an underlying blood vessel), the straight (or parallel), and the angled: *σχῆματα δὲ τρία διαίρεσεως τὸ μὲν ἐπικάρσιον, τὸ δὲ εὐθὴν οὐχὶ κείρον, ἀλλὰ χρίζον τὴν φλέβα κατ' εὐθὴν, τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων προσανορούμενον λοξόν*. It is thus difficult to determine precisely the nature of the contrast between *πλαγιοτομεῖν* and *λοξοτομεῖν* (cutting obliquely / at an angle) mentioned on the papyrus, unless of course they are meant as synonyms.

11–16 The following two 'forms' appear to be concerned with more abstract aspects of the surgeon's knowledge. Broadly speaking, *καιρός* in medical literature refers to the stage reached in the course of an affection, or the 'opportunity' or 'correct time' to offer a particular treatment appropriate to this stage. The *kairikon* form described here is said to indicate the post-operative treatments, and may simply designate the surgeon's general awareness of the identifiable stages of a condition and their importance in determining particular forms of treatment. Semiotics, the art of predicting the past, present, and future development of a condition, was widely recognized as a fundamental aspect of ancient therapeutics in general, as well as of surgery in particular (cf. e.g. ps.-Gal. *Intr.* 8 [xiv 693–4 K.]), and especially with a view to establishing the doctor's authority in a clinical context (cf. esp. Hp. *Progn.* 1). It is unsurprising to find it attested here specifically as an important part of surgical expertise.

16–18 Interestingly, obstetric surgery is singled out here, presumably reflecting more general tendencies to isolate gynaecology as a particular field within medicine (cf. e.g. Sor. *Gyn.* 3.1–5). See Hp. *Foet. exsect.* 1.1 for use of the verb *ἐγκατατέμνω* in an obstetric context. Various operations using surgical instruments to remove the foetus in cases of dystocia, referred to under the headings of *ἐμβρυοτομία* and *ἐμβρυουλκία*, are described in detail at Cels. *De med.* 7.29 and Sor. *Gyn.* 4.9–12.

18–19 There is insufficient space for both the article, which seems necessary, and another word before *ονομάτων*, and I suggest that ἀπ' | [ἀντῶν] <τῶν> *ονομάτων* should be restored, though no doubt there are other possibilities.

21–42 The author in this section sets out a separate division of surgery based on distinctions between the aims of different categories of surgical operation, expressed as what surgery 'promises' (*ἐπαγγέλλεται*). The primary division is into simple and compound ways (*τρόποι*) of treating, which are each further divided into two kinds. It is clear that the two simple ways, described at 26–32, are defined by their each having a single aim, thus encompassing operations that are principally concerned either with a patient's appearance (promising *εὐπρέπεια* or *ἀπρέπεια*) or with the resulting quality of

life, presumably referring to physical ability (*καλῶς* or *κακῶς ζῆν*). Though in a non-surgical context, a comparable division into four simple and four compound ways of curing (*ἄπλοι* and *ἐνθετοι τρόποι τῆς ἰάσεως*) can be found at Gal. MM [x 103–4 K.], each aiming to counteract an excessively hot, cold, moist, or dry condition of the body, or the four possible combinations of these elemental qualities.

The discussion of the compound ways at 33–42 is rather more difficult to interpret from the remains. Firstly, the fact that there are two compound ways of treating precludes the possibility that they involve merely a combination of the two simple ways. Rather the distinction between the compound ways appears to parallel that between the simple ways, so that one additional factor is added (*προσάγεται*, 40) to each of the latter. The mention of what must be *σωτη*[ρία] at 39–40 would seem to suggest that this additional factor or aim concerns the preservation of the patient's life, when this is under threat, suggesting that the final clause or sentence of the previous section on the simple ways (31–2) should be interpreted as specifying that these are not concerned with life-or-death situations. Thus at 40–42, where the second indicative *προσάγεται* suggests a new sentence, we should have the statement that preservation of life (*σωτηρία*) is added to or combined with the distinguishing aims of the simple ways of surgical treatment (i.e. either a good quality of life or attractiveness). There will thus be four ways of treating surgically, according to their aims or objectives: (i) will be directed primarily at leaving the patient physically able; (ii) will be primarily cosmetic; (iii) will involve saving the patient's life, when this is threatened, and will leave the patient physically able (at the expense of appearance); and (iv) will save the patient's life and leave a pleasing appearance (at the expense of physical ability). An obvious objection to this scheme would be that a pleasing appearance and good quality of life are not mutually exclusive outcomes of surgery, but the distinction may only pertain to the primary aim of the procedure. See below 35–42 n. for a possible reconstruction of this section.

23 *μεθορεύει*. This unattested verb, which could mean something like 'to share boundaries with', I assume to be an error. An emendation to *μεθοδεύει* ('treats/curates') is the simplest solution palaeographically, but we are left without an obvious subject. The passive *μεθοδεύεται* would give the most satisfactory sense, i.e., 'In how many ways are the affections in surgery treated?', and thus seems preferable, though the error is more difficult to explain.

25 The restoration of the number β̄ in lacuna is required by the two separate outcomes of the simple ways of treatment set out at 29–31, each being described by a positive and a negative alternative.

26–32 That surgical procedures were indeed distinguished according to their primarily cosmetic or corrective outcomes emerges from such texts as P. Fuad Univ. App. I 1 i 9–13 [ed. alt. M.-H. Marganne, *L'ophtalmologie dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine d'après les papyrus littéraires grecs* (Leiden 1994) 147–72], where the relative merits of two types of *periscythismus* operation are discussed (the one *μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος ἔχεται*, the other is *εὐπρεπέστερος*); cf. also the similar distinctions between operations made at Aët. Iatr. 7.94; Paul. Aeg. 6.19, 53, 54.

31–2 Given my interpretation of the nature of the compound ways, I think it most likely that this clause indicates that the simple ways of treatment are not relevant under circumstances in which the patient's life is in danger: they are directed only towards the patient's appearance or quality of life, not life itself. I thus suggest as a possible restoration *εἰ | [μὴ ὑπ]έρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῆν* ('... if it does not concern/is not for the sake of living itself').

35–42 The precise meaning of this passage on the compound ways remains somewhat obscure. I offer the following tentative reconstruction of the whole section:

35 οἱ δις]ζῆν ἔχοντες ἀπαγγε-  
λίαν. ἐ]παγγέλλεται γὰρ ἡ χε[ι-  
ρουργί]α ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἐ-



πιμίς]τους τρόπους καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν δι[σσην ἐχόν[τ]ων σωτη-  
 40 ρίαν· π]ροσάγεται [. . .] [. . .]  
 τῶ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καὶ τῆ] εὐπρε-  
 πία ] (vac.)

35 l. ἐπαγγε- 41-2 l. εὐπρε[πεία ]

Those that have a double promise. For surgery, in those cases according to the mixed ways and in those that have a double (sc. promise), promises preservation. [For this?] is added to a [good quality] of life or [even] to attractiveness.

I suggest that *σωτηρίαν* at 39-40 should be taken as the object of *ἐπαγγέλλεται*. Although it would seem unnatural to separate it from *δισσην* in this way at 39, the phrase *τῶν δισσην ἐχόντων* can be read as referring back to 35-6, with *ἐπαγγελίαν* subsequently left understood. At the end of 40, the traces might admit of a reading such as [α]ῦτη, giving perhaps e.g. *π]ροσάγεται [γὰρ [α]ῦτη*, but this is very unclear. This schematization of course appears somewhat contrived, and doubtless other interpretations are possible.

D. LEITH

#### 4973. VETERINARY OR PHYSIOGNOMICAL TEXT

62 6B.75/B(1-5)a

15.8 × 13.3 cm

Second century

Remains of three columns written against the fibres, on the back of a register of landholdings and taxes assignable to the second century. Column i contains only the final letters of each line. The passage in column ii is preserved almost intact, while column iii offers the beginnings of 15 lines. The papyrus is of poor quality, the handwriting an upright cursive, heavily written, and giving a somewhat relaxed impression: cf. P. Lond. I 110 = *GLH* 18a, a horoscope of 138, and PSI 240 (re-ed. in PSI Corr. I pp. 7-10, with plate), assigned to the first or second century. 4973 may also be assigned to the second century.

One notices immediately the presence of a number of anatomical terms. The text appears to constitute an anatomical description, in the form of a list, articulated by participles and in asyndeton. It is not easy to identify the subject to which the terms refer, whether a person or an animal, since they are applicable to either and any passages that would illuminate the context are lost. Nor is it clear whether a normal or a pathological state is described. The text at ii 3-4 seems to suggest an abnormal state, followed by an explanation of the passage articulated by participles and in asyndeton. It is difficult to determine what these terms refer to (ii 4), and they are apparently followed by a description of symptoms. On the other hand, the nature of the parts described (e.g. eyes, teeth) may point instead to a description of a normal state. Additionally, the observation at ii 8-9, *οἶονεὶ φλεκτιδώδη* (l. *φλυ-*) *διάθεσις*, seems to indicate that a pathological condition has been described. The difficulties in interpretation are also due to the fact that no clear syntactical struc-

ture is in evidence. In col. ii, which at certain points preserves an almost complete text, one notes in particular a sequence of terms in the accusative. Many lexical difficulties remain, in that individual words are either not attested or apparently used in an anomalous sense in the context: cf. e.g. ii 4 transitive *πληθύω*; ii 7-8 intransitive *ὑποκάμπτω*; ii 9 *φλεκτιδώδη* (*φλυκτιδώδη* is probably to be read, likewise unattested).

Parallels can be found in physiognomical texts, in which many anatomical features are considered significant, but it is nevertheless not entirely certain that we have a text of this genre. There are a number of differences. All references, for example, to the significance of the anatomical characteristics described on the papyrus are lacking, and descriptions of teeth (see ii 12) are entirely absent in physiognomical texts. It can otherwise be excluded that the text represents a description of a person's physical characteristics for the purposes of identification.

The text appears to correspond better to a description of an animal. The *Hippiatrica* literature and the *Cynegetica* do not provide decisive parallels, but Philumenus' treatise *De venenatis animalibus* of the first century offers more suggestive terminology for comparison with 4973: there are interesting correspondences (though it should be noted that the text has reached us only as an epitome) both in individual details (see the notes below) and in the fact that both texts present a similar syntactical structure, in the form of a list of terms in the accusative (cf. e.g. *CMG* x 1.1.34.8 ff. Wellmann). Note that in these contexts the description of jaws and teeth is an important element: cf. e.g. p. 36.7 ff. (shrew); p. 28.19-20. There are further parallels in the description of the crocodile in Hdt. 2.68. In view of the quality of the material, it cannot be ruled out that this is an *ad hoc* composition rather than a copy of a text.

Col. i

.  
 ]...  
 ]γαί  
 ]ων  
 ]υ  
 5 ]φ..  
 ]ατο  
 ]ων  
 ]...  
 ]..  
 10 ]ι  
 ].  
 .

3 vertical strokes before lacuna 6 alternatively *στο* 8 the traces may admit of  $\pi\lambda\iota$ ,  $\tau\omega\iota$  or  $\tau\omega\eta$  9 vertical extending below the line:  $\rho$  or  $\phi$  ( $\iota$  also sometimes extends below the line)

## Col. ii

. [ . ] δ [ . ]  
 τεταραγμ[.....]ο[ ]χλω-  
 ρον ἢ ὅτι τὰς φ[.....] πληθύ-  
 5 ον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄνω βλέφα-  
 ρον ἐπηρμένον, τὸ δὲ ὑπο-  
 κάτω παρεμμένον καὶ ὑπο-  
 κάμπτον ἐπιφαίν[ο]ν οί-  
 10 ονὲι φλεκτιδώδη διάθεσις,  
 τὰς δὲ παρειὰς [.] ὑψώδεις καὶ  
 παρεμμέν[α]ς τὰς γνάθο[υ]ς,  
 γομφίους πλ[α]τεῖς ἀ(ρ)ρύθμους,  
 ὧτα μεγάλα τοῖς λοβοῖς,  
 15 ὀγκώδη βύθωνα παχύν-  
 πρὸς δὲ τῷ μετώπῳ τὰ π.  
 .[...]. [ . ]  
 ] .. [ . ]  
 ] .. [ . ]

## Col. iii

..... [ . ]  
 αρθρωτοι δὲ [ . ]  
 χοι ὄνυχες [ . ]  
 μέσα τῶν [ . ]  
 5 πεφυκότες [ . ]  
 βαρεῖς ω [ . ]  
 τῶν ποδῶ [ . ]  
 ε. ων ευογ [ . ]  
 ροι τὸ δὲ μ. [ . ]  
 10 τῆς τοῦ σω [ . ]  
 ἔχοντες [ . ]  
 περιπλε [ . ]  
 τω[...]. [ . ]

15 . ελε [ . ]  
 ] . [ . ]

'... mottled ... greenish/yellowish, or because it is full [in the veins / in the mind?]. And the upper eyelid raised, the lower relaxed and folded downwards, with the appearance of a pustulous condition, the cheeks ... and relaxed at the jaws, molars broad and irregular, ears with large lobes, nose swollen and thick. Alongside the forehead, the ...

'... articulated ... nails ... in the middle of ... by nature ... heavy ... of the feet ... of the [body?] ... having ...'

## Col. ii

3 *τα* is somewhat obscured by a partially detached and twisted fibre, on which traces of two preceding lines are visible; the piece on which *ταρ* is written has been moved below its original position. The participle *τεταραγμένος* is used to describe a 'mottled' complexion or eye colour at Arist. *Phgn.* 812a 17 (οἱ δὲ ἐνωχροὶ καὶ τεταραγμένοι τὸ χρῶμα δειλοὶ) and 812b 8 (οἱ ἀχρόματα ἐντεταραγμένους ἔχοντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δειλοὶ), as noted by Dr Leith. At the end of the line, there may or may not be space for a narrow letter between omicron and chi, allowing perhaps for *ὕπ]όχλωρον*, used to describe skin colour at *Physiogn.* [1 387.2 Foerster]. This suggests as a possible restoration *τεταραγμ[ένον ἢ ὑπ]όχλωρον* ('... mottled or pale'), with the noun which these terms qualify being perhaps the skin (τὸ δέρμα), or the face (τὸ πρόσωπον), etc. Like all the descriptive elements that follow, this is non-specific by itself and can be found in multiple contexts, as for example in the description of an animal: cf. Philum. pp. 34.21, 36.7 ff.

4  $\phi$  before lacuna is uncertain, and may alternatively be  $\rho$ : only a vertical extending below the line is visible.

ἢ ὅτι τὰς φ[λέβας] or φ[ρένας] πληθύον. Both restorations, offered *exempli gratia*, fit the space. The presence of ἢ ὅτι suggests that the previous lines referred to the cause of a pathological state. *πληθύω* is standardly intransitive, but there are some instances of the transitive (Soph. fr. 718 Radt). The noun may however be taken as accusative of respect.

5  $\nu$  and  $\kappa$  seem to overlap, and a small piece of papyrus, where *κα* is read, is situated towards the left: in fact they touch the traces of  $\iota$  next to them, but on the image there appears to be a lacuna the width of one letter.

5-7 The eyelids are a recurrent element in physiognomical descriptions: cf. Arist. *Phgn.* 807b 29, βλέφαρα παχέα; *Physiogn.* [1 30.14 Foerster], βλέφαρα ... παχέα; [1 636.6 ff.], ὀφθαλμοὶ μειδιῶντες, ἅμα ὑγρότητι, βλέφαρα ἀνεμμένα ... τὰ ἀμφὶ βλέφαρα λαγαρά; [1 413.2], β. ἀναπεπεταμένα παχέα; [1 415.2], β. ἀνατεταμένα. For βλέφαρα ἐπηρμένα, cf. Gal. *In Hp. Epid. III* [xvii/A 540.14 K.] and ps.-Gal. *Invo.* [xiv 768.13 K.].

8-9 *φλεκτιδώδης* does not exist and is meaningless. It is probably an error for *φλυκτιδώδης*, an unattested adjective that could be derived from *φλυκτίς*, 'pustule': for an analogous error in the *Hippiatrica* tradition, see *Hippiatrica* 2.218.23, *φλυκτίδας* v. l. *φλεκτίδας*. The adjective is parallel to *φλυκτανοειδής* and *φλυκτανώδης*, both attested in medical literature. *φλυκτίς* and *φλύκταινα* are equivalent: cf., e.g., Aët. 7.31 [CMG VIII 1.277.20 Olivieri], although they are distinguished in Suda 4.476. The adjective can plausibly refer to the eyelids, even if *οίονει* specifies that a pustule-like appearance is meant rather than pustules themselves.

9 *σω*,  $\varsigma$  ligatured to  $\iota$  in a curve descending to right to shorten the line.

10 The cheeks are also an important element in physiognomical texts (cf. *Physiogn.* [1 348.14 Foerster]), and are associated with the jaws, as mentioned here immediately afterwards (cf. *ibid.*

[1 378.7ff.]. The adjective that qualifies them presents a difficulty: there are traces before *τωδεῖς*, but space only for two letters, and the traces of the second letter suit  $\gamma$  well. Thus the possibilities seem restricted to *αὐτῶδης* and *φυτῶδης*, neither of which fits the context. If, however, we suppose that there was a scribal error as in the previous line, [ $\beta$ ]υτῶδεις might be restored, and emended to [ $\beta$ ]υτ(ιδ)ώδεις. The adjective is attested in Hp. *Prorrh.* 2.23, Arist. *HA* 604a 28, *Phgn.* 807b 4, 808a 8, 18, 28, etc., and is suited to the context. Wrinkled cheeks are noted in physiognomical texts: cf. *Physiogn.* [II 227.13 Foerster], *παρειάι ἐρρυτιδωμένα. γνάθος* can refer to the jaws of humans or animals.

12 Attention is naturally paid to the characteristics of the teeth in the *Hippiatrica* literature (cf. e.g. I 320.25ff.; I 325.7–9), though not in physiognomical texts.

13 The ears can of course refer to humans and animals, but ears with large lobes suggest in particular an animal. Even in this case parallels can be drawn both in physiognomical texts (*ἄτα μεγάλα* at I 380.7ff., I 424.5) and in the *Hippiatrica*. In the latter case, however, attention is paid above all to the movement and posture of the ears rather than their size.

14 *ῥῶθων*, 'nose', but found most often in the plural in the sense of 'nostrils': cf. Poll. 2.72; Hsch. s.vv. *μύξα* and *ῥῶθωνες*; Ruf. Eph. [137.7 Daremberg]. The term is naturally found in the *Hippiatrica*, but in the plural. On the other hand, cf. *Physiogn.* [II 324.24 Foerster], with reference to a species of bull, *ῥῶθωνι παχεί*.

Col. iii

2 *ἄρθρωτοί* or more likely a compound adjective of the form (*ἄ*)*διάρθρωτοι*.

3 Perhaps [ $\delta$ ολι]χοὶ *ὄνυχες*?

5ff. We have evidently arrived at the end of the description, which included some comment on nature (*πεφυκότες*) and weight (*βαρεῖς*), with the mention of the feet or legs. All these final elements are found in close proximity in Arist. *Phgn.* 810a 15ff., *ὄσσι οἱ πόδες εὐφυεῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοι, διηρθρωμένοι τε καὶ νευρώδεις . . . ὄσσι δὲ τοὺς πόδας μικροὺς στενοὺς ἀνάρθρους ἔχουσιν . . . οἷς τῶν ποδῶν οἱ δάκτυλοι καμπύλοι, ἀναιδεῖς καὶ ὄσσι ὄνυχες καμπύλοι*.

8 The second letter is difficult to interpret: Δ, λ, or, less likely, malformed ρ.

εων[. Perhaps a form of *εὐογκος* (in phonetic spelling), suggested by Dr Leith.

10 Perhaps τοῦ *κό*[ματος.

11 Initial ε apparently corrected to λ or accidentally malformed.

D. MANETTI

(translated from the Italian by D. Leith)

#### 4974. OSTEOLOGICAL FRAGMENT

16 2B.45/C(c)

5.5 × 4 cm

Second or third century

A small, rectangular piece containing remains of five lines of text written against the fibres. Only the upper margin survives, to a height of just under 1 cm. The other side contains no writing, but there is a patch of smudged ink that appears to have been partially wiped off.

The text is written in a medium sized, semi-cursive with little attempt at bilinearity. The letters are generally upright, some tending slightly to the right. μ is wide, curved, and shallow; ν's diagonal meets the second, often curved, hasta at two-thirds height; γ is small and V-shaped, with a pronounced hook to right; ω is

small and barely rises in the middle. Similar hands can be found in XXXI 2533 and *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 17a, both assigned to the second century.

The presence of the terms *γόμφωσις* and *κύμψυσις*, and the association of the former with the teeth, indicates that the text drew on ancient classifications of the various forms of joint in the body. The preface to Galen's early work *De ossibus ad Tirones* [II 732–39 K.] constitutes the fullest extant account of such a classification, while ch. 12 of the ps.-Galenic *Introductio sive Medicus* [XIV 720–25 K.] offers a much less complex scheme, with some variation in the usage of certain terms. The systematic classification of joint types appears to have been a development of the Hellenistic period: while some of the specific technical terms employed find parallels in the Hippocratic and Aristotelian Corpora, there is little indication that they formed part of a comprehensive taxonomy, though the beginnings of one can be clearly identified at *PA* 2.9.654a 32–b 22 (see also 2 and 3 n.). There is scant evidence of direct osteological research associated with Alexandrian anatomy. One might otherwise think of the work *Περὶ κκελετῶν* by the Peripatetic Clearchus of Soli (see fr. 106–10 Wehrli) as a possible source of such classifications: cf. fr. 108, recording Clearchus' assertion that there are 26 bones in the hand; and Galen's comment at *AA* 1.2 [II 220 K.] that some people gave a similar title to his own osteological handbook *De ossibus*. The earliest references to the technical terms for these joint types are found in P. Lond. Lit. 167 [ed. alt. M.-H. Marganne, *BASP* 24 (1987) 23–34], of the first century BC or AD; in PUG II 51 [ed. alt. I. Andorlini, in V. Boudon-Millot et al. (eds.), *Ecdotica e ricezione dei testi medici greci* (Naples 2006) 83–91], of the first century AD; and in ps.-Gal. *Def. Med.* 470 and 474–5 [XIX 460–61 K.], thought to date from the later first century. They were also employed in the 20-book treatise on anatomy by Galen's predecessor Marinus, in the early second century (cf. Gal. *Libr. propr.* 4.15 [XIX 26 K. = *Scr. min.* II 105 Müller]). Galen further tells us that certain terms, such as *ἐνάρθρωσις*, *ἀρθρωδία*, and *συγχόνδρωσις*, were coined by the 'more recent' anatomists, and were not used by the ancients, implying a continuing development of these classifications (*Oss.* pref. [II 735, 738 K.]).

Beyond its general osteological content, there is little discernible thematic continuity in what survives, and there may have been a fairly extensive loss of text. The repetition of *κατὰ δέ* at 2 and 4 perhaps indicates that the text offered a list of the various joint types, illustrated by examples. A similar construction is used in ps.-Gal. *Intro.* 12 [XIV 720–22] (see 2 n.). The instance of *κατὰ* at 5 might thus be read as introducing a further type, though in this case it is possible that the preposition refers simply to the location of the anatomical feature under discussion.

]ι νευροχοντρώδη σώ[ματα  
 κατ]ᾶ δὲ γόμφωσιν οἱ ὀδόντ[εσ  
 ]η ἀπλοῖ τῆς συμφύσε[ωσ  
 ]ισιν οὗτοι κατὰ δὲ το[  
 5 ]ν ὀστέον κείται κατα[

1 I. νευροχοντρώδη

1 ἐστ]ι οἱ κα]ι?

νευροχοντρώδη. For δ > τ after ν, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 76–7, 81. The anatomical term νευροχοντρώδης ('neuro-cartilaginous') is not attested before Galen and the ps.-Galenic author of the *Intro.*, and is thus notably absent in Rufus of Ephesus. There is no indication as to which part of the body it describes here. It is generally used of a particularly hard and dense kind of ligament (σύσδεσμος: cf. Gal. *De temp.* [I 602–3 K.], attributing the term to 'the anatomists'; *PHP* 1.9.5 [CMG V 4.1.2 I 94 de Lacy]), and is associated especially with those ligaments that bind a joint from within, such as the *ligamentum teres* in the hip, as opposed to those that surround the joint (cf. Gal. *AA* 2.9 [II 328–9 K.], 2.10 [II 332 K.]). Galen refers to such 'neuro-cartilaginous' ligaments also in the knee-joint (*AA* 2.10 [II 329 K.]), between the carpal bones (*Oss.* 15 [II 770 K.]), and variously in the joints at the ankle, heel and metatarsals (*AA* 2.10 [II 333–4 K.]; *Oss.* 25 [II 777 K.]). He also describes the bone in the heart as a 'neuro-cartilaginous' body (*UP* 6.19 [I 366 Helmreich]; *AA* 7.10 [II 619 K.]). By contrast, it is also used to describe the nature of the sphincter muscle in P. Lund I 7.7–11 [ed. alt. M.-H. Marganne, *CE* 62 (1987) 189–200].

2 κατ]ᾶ δὲ γόμφωσιν. At the break, a small trace of a descending diagonal survives, consistent with alpha. The phrase is closely paralleled by ps.-Gal. *Intro.* [XIV 722 K.]: κατὰ γόμφωσιν δὲ σύγκεινται οἱ ὀδόντες, ἐγγεγόμεφονται γὰρ τοῖς φατνίοις. The ps.-Galenic author sets out each of the three types of joint he discusses in the same manner: κατὰ ραφήν μὲν οὖν σύγκεινται τὰ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὀστᾶ [XIV 720 K.]; κατὰ δὲ σύμφωσιν τὰ τῆς ἄνω γνάθου ὀστᾶ σύγκεινται [XIV 721 K.]. The papyrus may have employed a similar structure, though it would have incorporated much less intervening material than the ps.-Galenic text.

Galen likewise illustrates joints κατὰ γόμφωσιν solely with reference to the teeth (*Oss.* pref. [II 738 K.]). But see ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* 474 [XIX 461 K.] (διακίνημά ἐστι τῶν κατὰ γόμφωσιν ἢ καθ' ἁρμονίαν συγκειμένων ὀστέων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ εἰς τὸν παρὰ φύσιν τόπον ἐκτασις: ὥσπερ ἐκ ταροῦ ὀσταρίων ραγέντων ἢ σπονδύλων εἴωθε γίνεσθαι), which appears to associate joints κατὰ γόμφωσιν with those of the upper foot and vertebrae. A possible precursor may be found in Aristotle, who twice compares the hock-joint of quadrupeds with a γόμφος, or peg, in the context of describing the actions of particular joints (*PA* 2.9.654b.19–22, 4.10.690a.12–14). Aristotle's use of the term, borrowed from carpentry, is clearly illustrative rather than classificatory here, but may have had an influence on later osteological terminology.

3 ἀπλοῖ. Of the second letter, two straight verticals, with a missing fibre at top that could have contained a thin cross-bar; the traces do not suit eta. It seems possible that this refers to a distinction between teeth that have a single or multiple roots, as enumerated by Galen at *Oss.* pref. [II 753 K.], though he does not use this term.

συμφύσε[ωσ. According to Gal. *Oss.* pref. [II 734 K.], the type of joint κατὰ σύμφωσιν is characterized by a sort of 'natural union' that in some way combines two bones effectively into a single unit. A favoured example of such a joint is the connection (non-existent in humans) in the centre of the lower jaw at the chin (*ibid.* [II 733 K.]), but the joining of the fingernail to the finger is also so

described (*AA* 2.11 [II 336–7 K.]). In the Hippocratic Corpus, the term σύμφωσις is apparently used in a looser sense, denoting simply a natural connection or point of contact between two bones: it is likewise used of the joint in the lower jaw at *Art.* 34 [IV 154 L.], as well as of the joints of the vertebrae (*Art.* 46 [IV 196 L.]) and of the fingers and toes (*Art.* 67 [IV 278 L.]; cf. also *Fract.* 37 [III 542–3 L.] and *Mochl.* 41 [IV 390 L.]). Galen's usage would seem to owe more to the Aristotelian conception of σύμφωσις as a type of connection that goes beyond mere contact, and in which the parts at some point come to share in the same material (cf. *Metaph.* 5.4.1014b.22, 11.12.1069a.12; *Ph.* 4.5.213a.9). Aristotle refers to such a connection between the bones of the forehead (*HA* 3.12.518b.8). On the other hand, at ps.-Gal. *Intro.* 12 [XIV 721], in contrast to Galen's terminology, σύμφωσις is used to describe straight-edged joints, such as those of the face, for which the Galenic term is ἁρμονία (Gal. *Oss.* pref. [II 737–8 K.]).

It is unclear how the reference to σύμφωσις here is related to the discussion of γόμφωσις, but it is suggestive that Galen explicitly compares the two types of joint at *Oss.* pref. [II 738 K.]: ἢ δὲ γόμφωσις συνάρθρωσις ἐστι κατ' ἐμπηξιν. ἐπαμφοτερίζει δὲ πως ἤδη τοῦτο καὶ πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς συμφύσεως, ὥσθ', ὅταν ἀκριβῶς ἐγγομφωθῇ τι, μηδὲ βραχυτάτην αὐτῷ κίνησιν ἀπολείπεσθαι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀδόντων ἔχει. ἀλλ' ὅτι γε οὐ συμπεφύκασιν οὗτοι τοῖς φατνίοις, οἱ ἐξαιρούμενοί τε καὶ αὐτομάτως ἐκπίπτοντες δηλοῦσιν. A similar analogy may be at work here, σύμφωσις perhaps having been discussed previously.

5 ]ν ὀστέον. There are many possible restorations, and the context offers no obvious means of reducing them.

D. LEITH

#### 4975. PHARMACOLOGICAL MANUAL

31 4B.10/C(4–6)a

fr. 1 14 × 13 cm,  
fr. 2 4 × 4.5 cm, fr. 3 1.5 × 3.5 cm

Second century  
Plate VI

Three fragments, and two insignificant scraps, written on the back of a document. Fr. 1 preserves the upper, left, and right margins of a single column, and fr. 2 a portion of the right margin. There are four vertical folds at approximately 2.5 cm intervals in fr. 1, the first appearing 2.5 cm from the left edge, evidenced by breaks in the fibres and various symmetrical holes at either side. The scribe seems deliberately to have left spaces in the text to avoid areas of poor quality on the surface of the papyrus, especially at the third fold some 8.5 cm from the left edge, indicating that they were present when the pharmacological text was copied.

The hand resembles an official cursive, roughly bilinear, with φ especially extending far above and below, ζ, ρ, and τ below. The letters are in general considerably broader than they are tall. Noteworthy are its large ε with extended midstroke sometimes touching its upper arc; θ with midstroke projecting some distance to either side; small, deep, curved μ; broad horizontals in π, τ; ω with high centre. There are variations in the formation of certain letters: note capital and cursive forms of β (fr. 1.1, 8); large, wedge-shaped α with left trait dipping below the notional lower line and its smaller, looped form (e.g. in -δια παιδίων, fr. 1.8); η in both its standard form and with diagonal meeting its second vertical near top, occasionally with a loop (e.g. beginning of fr. 1.6). The hand may be assigned to the second

century, most probably the second half. Similar hands may be found on BGU V 1210, *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (= Seider, *Pal. d. gr. Pap.* i 37; mid second century), *GLH* 14 (mid second century, assigned), and P. Turner 8 (second century, assigned).

I have been unable to join the fragments. Supplementation for fr. 1 and 2, as well as a comparison of their interlinear spacing, render it unlikely that they can be closely associated. The mention of liquid measures at fr. 1.17-19, and of dry measures at fr. 2.4-5, suggests that these lines do not correspond. More generally, as Professor Andorlini remarks, the specification of quantities in drachmas in fr. 2 and perhaps fr. 3, in contrast to the layout of the recipes in fr. 1, suggests that the fragments may come from different columns.

The fragments preserve sections of a pharmacological manual that contained multiple columns of recipes, each written out in continuous prose line by line. Among the best examples of such manuals on papyrus rolls are P. Ryl. III 531, VIII 1088, and PSI X 1180 (for which see also Andorlini, *Testi* 81-118). Comparable formatting is to be found in these papyri, with recipes separated by *paragraphus*, followed by a title in ekthesis. A wide column also seems to be favoured in the examples mentioned, as well as generally more professional or practised hands when compared with medical recipes found on smaller, single pieces of papyrus. The recipes seem to have been arranged to a limited degree according to the affected part which they are intended to treat. Thus 3-12, and perhaps also 1-2, contain prescriptions for conditions in the area of the groin, while the immediately following recipes are for difficulty in breathing, thereby also overturning the more general *a capite ad calcem* arrangement sometimes employed in pharmacological compilations.

fr. 1

ἀλ(λο)· σταφίδα γλυκεῖαν β[ . . . . . ]νω τρεῖς μετὰ  
 μέλι[ι]τος κατάπλασον. [ vac. ]  
 πρὸς αἰδοίων πόνον· εν[ . . . ]νιὰ κατακαύσας ξηρὰ  
 τῆ σποδῶ χρώ.  
 5 ὄρχεων πόνον κα[ι] φλεγμονά· πηγάνου καὶ δά-  
 φνης φύλλα μετὰ μέλιτος λειοῖς· κατάπλασον.  
 πρὸς παραμήρια· σπόδιον μετὰ νάρδον λεῖον ἐνφύσα.  
 πρὸς ἐντεροκηλίδια παιδίων· λαβὸν κυπάρισσον  
 χλωρὰν λέανον μετ' οἴνου Αἰγυπτίου καὶ ποιήσας  
 10 σφαῖραν προστίθει καὶ ἐπίδησον καὶ μὴ λυεῖς ἡμέρα[  
 πρὸς τὰ τεθηριωμέ[να] αἰδοῖα καὶ αἰμορροῦντα· ὀθόνιον  
 κατακαύσας καὶ τ[ρεῖ]ψας ἐπίπασσε.  
 ὀρθόπν[ο]ιαν αὐθημερεὶ στήσαι· καρδάμου [ c.9 ὑο-  
 κνάμου σπέρματος πεπέρεως λευκ[οῦ]

15 τρεῖς ἀναπλάσας ἐν μέλιτι ἢ κικίν[ω] ἡλίκον κύαμον Αἰ-  
 γύπτιον ἐν μέλιτι καὶ οἴνω δί[δου]  
 ἀλ(λο) ὑσσώπου ἀκόπου ὀξύβαφον [  
 ἀπόβρεχε ἐν κοτύλης τρίτ[ω] μορίω τῆ  
 ]έχομ[ε]ν[η] ἀφέψει εἰς κοτύλην [  
 20 ]· αν ἀβρυτάνο[υ]  
 ]·[ ]δα[ ]·[

1 α<sup>λ</sup> 1. τρεῖς 7 1. ἐμφύσα 8 1. ἐντεροκηλίδια 11 1. αἰμορροῦντα  
 12 1. τ[ρεῖ]ψας 15 1. τρεῖς 17 α<sup>λ</sup>

fr. 2

]χ[  
 ] ποιή[ca]ς [  
 ] πανπο· ν  
 ] δαύκουσ (δρ.) δ  
 5 ] νθου (δρ.) δ ὑο-  
 κνάμου σπέρματος ]·[ ]·[ αναπ·[  
 ]·ταν·[  
 ]·[

4, 5 5 = δραχμαί

fr. 3

]τ[  
 ] ποσ·[  
 ] β λει[  
 ] ν προσ[  
 5 ] ὀξωσ[  
 ]·[

fr. 1

'Another: having pounded a sweet raisin in [. . . wine?], apply with honey as a plaster.

'Against pain in the genitals: having burnt [some?] dry [pieces of linen?], use the ashes.

'Pain and inflammation of the testicles: you grind rue leaves and bay leaves with honey. Apply as a plaster.

Against (sc. inflamed?) inner thighs: blow on (zinc?) oxide ground with nard.

Against little inguinal hernias in children: take green cypress, crush with Egyptian wine and having made a ball, apply, bind it, and do not untie for [?] day(s).

Against inflamed and bleeding genitals: having burnt a piece of linen and pounded it, sprinkle it over.

To stop difficult breathing immediately: having pounded [equal amounts?] of nose-smart, . . . , seed of henbane, white pepper, . . . , and having shaped [into the size of] an Egyptian bean in honey or castor-oil, give [to drink?] in honey and wine.

Another: soak an oxybaphon of unground hyssop . . . in a third of a kotyl . . . on the following day decoct . . . to a kotyl . . . of southernwood . . .

fr. 1

1 σταφίδα γλυκείαν. Gal. *De alim. fac.* [v1 581-4 K.] discusses the various types of raisin and their medicinal properties, stating that many raisins, as here, are sweet, a few sour, but most a mixture of the two [v1 581 K.]. The sweet raisin in particular possesses moderate cleansing properties [v1 582 K.], as Oribasius also attests, at *Coll. med.* 3.13.10 [CMG VI.1.1 p. 75 Raeder] and 3.24.1 [p. 83 Raeder]. The affliction which this recipe is to treat is lost, but the following five recipes deal with various afflictions in the area of the groin, and it is possible that some skin condition in this area, requiring cleaning, was referred to in the previous column.

β[. . . .]νω. Professor Andorlini notes that we expect the ingredient with which the raisin is to be pounded, suggesting perhaps β[ραχεί οί]νω, 'with a little wine'.

3 εν[. . .]νω. Perhaps ἐν[ια ὀθ]όνια, 'some pieces of linen'? Of the first letter after the break, only a faint trace survives high in the line; of the putative alpha, the beginning of a rising diagonal. Linen is mentioned below at 11-12 as the object of κατακάσας in a recipe for a complaint also affecting the genitals. There, the ashes from the linen are presumably intended to soothe the affected area, and it is possible that this entry describes a comparable recipe.

5-6 Paralleled at Dsc. 3.45.3 [11 58 W.], under the entry for πήγανον, or rue (*Ruta graveolens* L.): τὰς δὲ τῶν διδύμων φλεγμονὰς σὺν δάφνης φύλλοις καταπλασθέν ὠφελεῖ. Bay leaves when externally applied are also described as beneficial for all kinds of inflammation at Dsc. 1.78.1 [1 78 W.].

λείοις. We expect an aorist participle before the imperative, such as λαβίων, but the sequence οτc seems certain. Of the preceding traces, a curving descender is visible, followed by faint marks which would be consistent with the end of a horizontal meeting a vertical mid-line. The use of the second person singular in such contexts is rare but attested: cf. e.g. P. Acad. inv. 4r.9-14 [ed. alt. J.-L. Fournet, in Andorlini, *Testi* 185-7].

7 πρὸς παραμήρια. If the inner thighs are meant, the condition affecting them may be left understood, e.g. αἰμορροοῦντα (cf. 11). Alternatively, παρὰ μηρία, 'in the area of the thighs', could be read, in which case the affliction may be that mentioned in the previous recipe, i.e. πόνος καὶ φλεγμοναί. The extended final trait of α serves to distinguish the recipe proper from its application.

While σποδός at 4 clearly refers to the ashes from the burnt material mentioned, σπόδιον here probably designates a metal oxide, perhaps of zinc: cf. e.g. this sense of σποδός at Dsc. 5.75 [111 40-45 W.].

8-10 Cf. Dsc. 1.74.1-2 [1 74 W.], under the entry for κυπάρισσος, cypress (*Cypripus sempervirens* L.): τὰ δὲ χλωρὰ σφαιρῖα κοπέντα καὶ σὺν οἴνῳ πινόμενα ἀρμόζει πρὸς αἵματος ἀναγωγὴν καὶ δυσεντερῖαν καὶ κοιλίας βενυματισμόν, ὀρθόπνοϊαν, βήχας. . . . ἐτέλλει δὲ καὶ ἐντεροκήλας καταπλασθέντα, καὶ τὰ φύλλα δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖ.

8 The diminutive ἐντεροκηλίδιον, little inguinal hernia, is a *hapax*.

10 ἐφ' ἡμέρα[ν] or ἐφ' ἡμέρα[ς] n.

11-12 The medicinal use of burnt linen ashes is also attested, for example, at ps.-Gal. *De remediiis parabilibus* [xiv 535 K.] (for burns), and ps.-Dsc. *De simpl. med.* 1.179 [111 220 W.] (for lesions).

12 γ[ρεί]ψας. The restoration seems unavoidable. Of the first letter, only a small trace remains high in the line; after the break, the extreme of a horizontal, rising slightly, almost touches alpha above mid-height, and would appear to be consistent only with epsilon or psi.

13 ὀρθόπν[ο]ίαν: difficulty in breathing or shortness of breath, which is eased by sitting up straight; cf. e.g. Gal. *De diff. resp.* [vii 923 K.].

ἀόθημερεί. An extremely rare form of the adverb, found in inscriptions (cf. Inscr. Prien. 28.17; IG 2.471.71; and IG 3.73.24-5).

13-14 ὄσ[ς]κιάμων σπέρματος. The mention of seed indicates that ὄσκιάμος was referred to, rather than the bean (κιάμων), which is often also found with the ethnic Αἰγύπτιος in the medical papyri. Seed of henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger* L.) is common in pharmacological literature (on papyrus, cf. P. Strasb. inv. gr. 90; Andorlini, *Trattato* fr. B 37.4; P. Rein. I 4 + BKT III 33-4 fr. B i 16; as also apparently here, below at fr. 2.5-6), and was added to such recipes as an analgesic: cf. also Dsc. 4.68 [11 224-7 W.]; Gal. *Simpl. med. temp. ac. fac.* [xii 147-8 K.].

14 πεπέρεως λευκ[οῦ]. The effectiveness of pepper for chest complaints is noted at Dsc. 2.159.3 [1 225 W.].

The absence of quantities provided for the individual ingredients listed here suggests the supplementation of a word such as ἴσα in the lacuna at the end of this line, i.e. 'equal amounts of . . . '.

15-16 For the preparation and administering of this recipe, cf. e.g. VIII 1088 ii 41-5 (in this case for quartan fever) ἀναπλάσας μεθ' ὕδατος κολλύρια ποιεῖ ἡλίκον Αἰγύπτιον κύαμον, εἶτα ἐν τῇ κικιά ξηράνας ταῦτα νήστη δίδου πεινὴν τρίψας ἐν γλυκείῳ ἡμικοτυλίῳ; also Gal. *De comp. med. sec. loc.* [xiii 68, 293 K.].

κικίω[ω]. Castor oil was used for a variety of cosmetic and medicinal purposes. Dsc. 1.32.2 [1 37 W.] states that when mixed into plasters it increases their effectiveness.

16 δί[δου]. Presumably δί[δου πίνειν], a common formula used in medical recipes for orally ingested medicaments, and apparently warranted here by the direction to give the prepared drug 'in honey and wine'.

17ff. This recipe for ὀρθόπνοια involved soaking a small amount of hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis* L.) and decocting it on the following day, though the precise details of the directions given remain obscure. The decoction may have been intended to be ingested orally. The liquid in which the hyssop was to be soaked was presumably specified at the end of 18, and therefore another ingredient may have been mentioned at the end of 17. A parallel may be identifiable in Dsc. 3.25.1 [11 35-6 W.], which prescribes a drink of hyssop with figs and rue decocted in water and honey for a range of chest conditions, including ὀρθόπνοια: ἀφεψηθεῖσα δὲ [sc. ὕσσωπος] μετὰ κύκων καὶ ὕδατος καὶ μέλιτος καὶ πήγανου καὶ πνομένη ἀρήγει περιπνευμονικοῖς, ἀσθματικοῖς, βηχὶ χρονίῳ, κατάρρῳ, ὀρθοπνοίῳ. Cf. also Aët. *Tab.* 8.74 [CMG VIII 2.540.1-3 Olivieri] and *Cyranides* 5.20.

20 ἀβρυτάνο[υ]. Southernwood (*Artemisia abrotanum* L.). ἀβρότονον is the standard spelling, but that found here appears to be a genuine variant among the papyri, attested also at VIII 1088 iii 68 (the *ed. pr.* has ἀβρυανου, but I have checked the papyrus [= British Library Pap. 2055], and ἀβρυτάνο(υ) should be read) and PSI X 1180 fr. A ii 8 (ἀβρυτ[ό]υ[ο]υ) [Andorlini, *Testi* 81-118]. Cf. also BGU IV 1132.11, where the proper name Ἀβρυτάνου is recorded, a form not found in an online LGPN search. To my knowledge, the form ἀβρότονον is not attested on papyrus. At Dsc. 3.24.2 [11 34-5 W.], ὀρθόπνοια is found first in a list of conditions for which the fruit of southernwood is effective, either when boiled in water or crushed raw and drunk, which might suggest that this line forms part of the recipe begun at 17, or that it comes at the beginning of a third recipe for the same condition.

fr. 2

4 δαύκουσ. A plant of the Umbelliferae family, with general warming properties (cf. Dsc. 3.72 [11 83-4 W.]). The genitive form δαύκουσ is also attested at VIII 1088 iii 50 and 53, while the third

reference to the plant at iii 65 (*ed. pr.* δαύκου σπέρμα(τος)) may conceal an instance of haplography, i.e. reading δαύκου (σ)σπέρμα(τος). This points to a fluctuation of declension, and the variant neuter form τὸ δαύκος (τὸ δαύκον is attested in Thphr, *HP* 9.15.5, etc.; see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 98–9 for the comparable case of δ γάρκος / τὸ γάρκος). See also P. Lund I 66 3 [= Andorlini, *Trattato* vii 52], which reads τὸ δαυ[ (note that Andorlini also suggests supplementation of the plant name at vii 60–61). BKT III 32–3 i 11–12, however, reads δαύκου | φύλλον, though this parchment codex is of the fifth or sixth century, and thus considerably later.

5 χαλκά[νθου (a product of copper from the furnace) or τερεβί[νθου (turpentine)?

fr. 3

3 A small blank space after β here suggests that it is a numeral, specifying a quantity, followed perhaps by a form of λαίνω, λείω or λείος.

D. LEITH

#### 4976. MEDICAL RECIPE

103/217(d)

6 × 6.5 cm

Second or third century

This piece preserves seven short lines of text written against the fibres. The front contains scant remains of two columns of a document. The papyrus was pre-cut to accommodate the text on the back, and appears to retain the original dimensions: the upper margin is greater than the interlinear spaces, and the writing has been compressed towards the right margin to ensure that it would fit. It is possible that the text is complete. The piece had been folded vertically in three, approximately equally, resulting in various symmetrical holes in the papyrus.

The text is copied in a somewhat angular informal hand leaning to the right. ρ especially extends far below the line, and to a lesser degree ι and τ. Among its characteristic forms are Δ with hooked oblique reaching high in the line; narrow ϑ with its cross-stroke projecting to the right; γ curved and always V-shaped, often hooked to the left in its first movement. The hand would seem to belong to the late second or third century, and can be broadly paralleled in the second hand of *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 68 (later second century, assigned), in 65 (third century, assigned), and in 66 (second or third century, assigned).

Alternative quantities have been added below 1 and 2, perhaps by a second hand (see nn.). There are two *paraphrasi*, the first between lines 3 and 4, and the second on a level with line 5, presumably to distinguish the fourth ingredient, which is the first to occupy two lines.

The text preserves a single medical recipe, unusually lacking a title or any indication as to its application (other examples include SB XIV 12074, *GMP* I 14 = P. Sijp. 6, *GMP* ii 11 = P. Eleph. Wagner 4, and P. Vindob. Worp 20). The presence of alternative quantities in medical recipes is even rarer on papyrus: P. Princ. III 155 is the only other example published to date, but there the alternatives are certainly recorded by the same hand. It may be that the papyrus was given or sent by

one doctor or druggist to another, and that the recipient subsequently adapted the recipe with his alternative quantities (cf. P. Merton I 12 for an exchange of recipes between doctors and the sorts of correspondence which this could generate). The details of the recipe's application and preparation might thus have been communicated independently, perhaps orally or in a covering letter.

The recipe itself would have produced a highly acrid compound, and the closest parallels among surviving pharmacological compilations suggest that it may have been intended for the treatment of intestinal worms in general, or for the tapeworm (πλατεία ἔλμινς) in particular (cf. Paul. Aeg. 4.57.13 [*CMG* IX 1.386 Heiberg]; ps.-Dsc. *Euph.* 2.68.2 [III 279 W.] (especially if the transmitted πεπέρεως is emended to πτέρεως, often confused in the mss.)). πτερίς, μελάνθιον, and κάρδαμον are each widely attested as being individually effective as a vermifuge, and all ingredients are found in various compound recipes against these parasites. Doubtless the compound drug was to be ingested orally, though μελάνθιον was also applied externally to the area of the stomach in order to expel intestinal worms (cf. Dsc. 3.79.2 [II 93 W.]; ps.-Dsc. *Euph.* 2.69.3 [III 280 W.]).

	πτερίδ[ο]ς (δρ.) η	
1a	(δρ.) δ	(m. 2?)
	δακρυδίου (τριώβολον)	
2a	(δρ.) α (τριώβολον)	(m. 2?)
	μελανθείου (δρ.) β̄	
	καρδάμου σπέρ-	
5	— ματος (δρ.) β	
	νίτρου Ἑλληνι-	
	κ[οῦ] (δρ.) β	

δ = δραχμαί    ς = τριώβολον    ζ l. μελανθίου

'Male fern, 8 drachmas (4 drachmas); scammony, ½ drachma (1 ½ drachmas); nigella, 2 drachmas; seed of garden cress, 2 drachmas; Greek natron, 2 drachmas'

1 πτερίδ[ο]ς. Male fern (*Nephrodium filix-mas* L.). This variant genitive form, more commonly attested as πτέρεως, is used also in Theophrastus and Dioscorides.

2 δακρυδίου. Scammony (*Convolvulus scammonia* L.). Its use in this recipe may have been as a purgative (cf. Dsc. 4. 170. 3–4 [II 319 W.]), to expel the remaining acrid ingredients before they could cause harm. The term δακρύδιον is relatively rare. It is used by Alexander Trallianus in his *Therapeutica*, *De febris*, and *De oculis*, but is otherwise found only three times, in each case simply noting it as an alternative name for *καμμωνία*: (i) the later (pre-fifth-century AD) interpolations to Dsc. *MM* that record additional alternative plant-names preserve it under the entry for *καμμωνία* (4. 170 [II 318 W.]); (ii) a herbal lexicon falsely attributed to Galen [ed. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia* ii 385–93], has at p. 388 the entry δακρύδιον ἥτοι καμμωνία; and (iii) P. RyI. I 29(a) 13, where both names seem to be recorded together.

1a, 2a The alternative amounts here are written small, squeezed between the lines. The abbreviation for *τριώβολον* curves sharply downwards at its end, in marked contrast to the upwardly curving final movement in the example at 2. Delta is also somewhat differently formed. These discrepancies can perhaps be explained by the more confined space, and there is no discernible difference in the colour of the ink, but it seems quite possible that a second hand was responsible. It should also be noted that these are indeed alternatives, since no attempt has been made to delete the originals, and their placement below the line does not suggest an intention to correct. They were presumably meant to offer a version or versions of varying potency, perhaps to be tailored to different levels in the severity of the condition. Note that the alternatives are proportionally based on the original amounts, in the first case dividing by two, in the second multiplying by three.

3 *μελανθείου*. *Nigella* (*Nigella sativa* L.).

4-5 *καρδάμου ἐπέριματος*. Seed of garden cress (*Lepidium sativum* L.). Bitterness or sharpness (*δριμύτης*), one of the most commonly recognised properties of this plant, of nigella and of the male fern, was considered active in expelling intestinal worms (cf. e.g. Gal. *Simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* [xii 42 K.]).

6-7 *νίτρον Ἑλληνικ[οῦ]*. The medicinal use of natron, sodium carbonate, is well attested, but the form of the mineral qualified by the adjective *Ἑλληνικόν* is very rare. Its only attestations are in two other papyri: PUG II 62.11 (a loan of money of 98 from Oxyrhynchus, for which a 24-artabas amount of Greek natron, along with four talents of 'other' natron, is the guarantee—its specification as 'Greek', and the fact that it is listed first and in smaller quantity, suggests that it was more valuable; cf. also the editor's n. ad loc.); and P. Ct. YBR inv. 1443 fr. C 4 and 6 (a recipe list; fr. A ed. A. E. Hanson in *Pap. Congr. XXIV* (2007) i 427-33). Other forms of *νίτρον* found in a medical context include *νίτρον Ἀλεξανδρινόν* and *νίτρον Βερενικάριον*, each denoting an Egyptian origin. There were three sources of natron in ancient Egypt (cf. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iii (1955) 174-9): the Wadi Natrum, the oasis in the Western desert; a site near Naucratis; and five spots near El Kab in Upper Egypt. Pliny, however, at *HN* 31.107, in the course of a long passage on *nitrum* in general, cites a location in Macedonia as producing a finer and purer form of *nitrum*, which is better than the Egyptian varieties. This would seem to be a plausible source of the 'Greek natron', so named from an Egyptian perspective, and mentioned only in the papyri. This particular 'Greek' type may have been specified here because it was considered of higher quality, as Pliny tells us and PUG II 62 suggests, and therefore of more potent therapeutic effect.

D. LEITH

#### 4977. MEDICAL RECIPES

69/14(b)

9 × 8.5 cm

Late second or third century  
Plate VI

This fragment contains on the front a single column, with a short text in the same hand copied in its left margin, at right angles to the main text. Only the right margin is intact, and the incised edge is relatively undamaged. The papyrus was folded twice from left to right. On the other side of the fragment, five lines of unclear traces in a second, cursive hand can be discerned, written with the fibres. This hardly legible text seems to have been written on the papyrus after it had been folded, for it is found only on the back of the portion of the recto bounded by the right-hand edge and the fold nearest to it.

The papyrus has been cut to accommodate at least three medical recipes. The surviving main text on the front totals 13 lines, while the marginal text preserves a further three. The main column is divided into two sections (comprising 1-2 and 3-13 respectively) by a rather meandering horizontal line. The text at 2 is written up against the right margin, and appears to have been added after the text at 3 had already begun to be written. The horizontal line and immediately subsequent text thus slope downwards markedly to accommodate it.

The first line of the second section (3) is in ekthesis. There are two instances of itacism (8, 12), and two of inorganic diaeresis (1, 10). Abbreviations are employed at 3, 4, and 8. The monograms  $\text{Ϡ}$  for *χρ(ῶ)* and  $\text{πϠ}$  for *πρ(ός)* are found at 1 and 9 respectively, both used in other pharmacological papyri (e.g. PSI X 1180 fr. A ii 4, iv 14 *et passim* [ed. partim Andolini, *Testi* 81-118]; see also K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. 3: 1981) s. vv.). The last two letters of *ἕδωρ* at 1 are also written as a monogram, but this does not involve an abbreviation.

The well preserved recipe at 3-13 is for a collyrium (as may have been the preceding; see 1-2 n.), a form of eye salve very commonly found among the papyri, apparently named after the 'cakes' or 'sticks' into which the ingredients were initially formed and stored before being mixed again with a liquid in order to be applied. The recipe here is described as 'that made with eggs', a title attested at Alexander Trallianus, *Περὶ θεραπείας ὀφθαλμῶν* [ii 65 Putschmann], where the collyrium itself offers few points of comparison; cf. also the collyrium stamp CIL XIII 3.2, *Signacula medicorum oculariorum* 10021 no. 28, *L. Caemi Paterni authemer(um) len(e) ex o(vo) acr(e) ex aq(ua)*. Much closer parallels, however, can be found with collyria described, as here at 10, as 'mild' (*τρυφερόν*, or in Latin *lene*): see esp. Scrib. *Larg. Comp.* 19-27; Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* 4.7 [xii 757.6-10 K.]; *ibid.* [xii 758.3-8 K.]; *ibid.* [xii 758.15-759.3 K.]; *ibid.* [xii 769.11-17 K.]; *Aët. Iatr.* 7.108 [CMG VIII 2. 374-5 Olivieri]; and Alex. Trall. *Περὶ θεραπείας ὀφθαλμῶν* [ii 9 Putschmann]. These are likewise often given another title, such as 'Dioclean', 'apple-coloured' or 'parrot-coloured'. Each contains two metal ingredients, most commonly, as here, *καδμεία* (zinc oxide) and *ψιμόθιον* (white lead). To these a further three or four plant-derived ingredients are added, of which *ῥπιον*, poppy juice, is common to all, its analgesic properties presumably having contributed to its milder effect. Most also include *κόμμι*, gum arabic, but this was an important ingredient in most collyria (see 4-5 n.). In contrast to the papyrus, these recipes do not include eggs among the main ingredients, whereas water and egg is to be added in all of them to form the paste when the collyrium was ready to be applied.

These mild collyria are prescribed for a range of eye conditions, including *περιωδνία* (excessive pain), *φλύκταιναι* (pustules), *ὑπόπνοι ὀφθαλμοί* (suppurating eyes), *ἔλκη* (sores), *ἐπικαύματα* (spots on the cornea), *χημώσεις* (inflammation). The papyrus mentions *διαθέσεις* (established conditions; see 9 n.) and *ἐπιφορά* (constant discharge from the eye; 11 n.). Note that the author draws a connection between



the mild nature of the collyrium and its effectiveness against these established conditions (τρυφερὸν γὰρ ἔστιν, 10). In the descriptions of the mild collyria listed, it is repeatedly stressed that they are suitable for those whose complaints render them unable to bear any additional pain. Such mild collyria thus seem to have been tailored in particular to patients suffering from painful, serious and chronic eye diseases, and may be viewed as an alternative to the apparently much harsher type of collyrium known as the ἀχάριστον, or 'thankless' (see also 9 n.).

κόμμεως (δρ.) ᾠ, ὕδωρ. χρ(ῶ)  
μεθ' ὕδατος.

κολ(ύριον) τὸ διὰ τῶν ῥῶν· καδμεί-  
ακ (δρ.) δ̄, ψιμιθί(σ) (δρ.) ᾠ, κό-  
μμεως (δρ.) β̄, κρόκου (δρ.) ᾠ (τριώβολον),  
5 ὀπίου (δρ.) ᾠ (τριώβολον), ῥῶν δ̄. τὸ  
ὑγρὸν ἐπίβαλε καὶ  
τρειῖβε καὶ ἀναλάμβαν(ε).  
ποιεῖ δὲ πρ(ός) διαθέσεις.  
10 τρυφερὸν γὰρ ἔστιν. ἰστᾶ  
δὲ καὶ ἐπιφορὰν μετ' ῥῶν  
μέσῃ κράσῃ ἢ παχυτέ-  
ρα ] . [

In the left margin, across the fibres:

... ξ . . . ρ . [   
15 πεπέρεως (δρ.) ᾠ, ε . [   
κόμμεως (δρ.) ᾠ [

1, 4, 5, 6 ὁ = δραχμαί 1 l. κόμμεως ὕδωρ ρ̄ 3 κο<sup>λ</sup> 4 ψιμιθι<sup>σ</sup> 1. ψιμιθί(σ)  
4-5 l. κόμμεως 5, 6 ὁ = τριώβολον 8 l. τριῖβε ἀναλαμβα<sup>α</sup> 9 ρ̄ 10 ἰστα  
12-13 l. κράσει ἢ παχυτέ[ρα 16 l. κόμμεως

(1-13) ' . . . 1 drachma of gum arabic, water. Apply with water.

Collyrium, made with eggs: 4 drachmas of calamine, 1 drachma of white lead, 2 drachmas of gum arabic, 1 1/2 drachmas of saffron crocus, 1 1/2 drachmas of poppy juice, 4 eggs. Add liquid, grind down and apply. It works against established conditions, for it is mild. It also stops constant discharge of tears with egg in a medium or rather thick consistency . . .'

(14-16) ' . . . 1 drachma of pepper, . . . , . . . drachmas of gum arabic, . . .'

1 κόμμεως. Cf. 4-5. Regularly written in ostraca and papyri with a single mu (e.g. O. Bodl. II 2182.8, 2185.6; P. Grenf. I 52r.5; *GMP* I 13.9). Gum arabic, procured from the acacia tree, was an important ingredient in collyria: cf. Cels. *De med.* 6.6.3, 'although *cummi* has certain other properties, this stands out most, that when collyria are mixed and then dried, they are glued together and do not crumble' (*cummi cum quasdam alias facultates habeat, hoc maxime praestare, ut, ubi collyria facta inaruerunt, glutinata sint neque frientur*). Dsc. 1.101.3 [193 W.] also attests to its alleviating effect when combined with harsh drugs (δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει . . . ἀμβλυνοτικὴν δρμίων φαρμάκων).

1-2 The repeated mention of water, once as an ingredient in the recipe proper, and again in preparation for application, suggests that this recipe, like the following, was a collyrium. The use of κόμμι, gum arabic, further supports this suggestion (see 1 n., 4-5 n.).

3 τὸ διὰ τῶν ῥῶν. It was a common practice for collyria to be named after a distinguishing ingredient, as e.g. δι' ἐρείκης or ἐρικηρόν (Aët. *Iatr.* 7.104 [CMG VIII 2.364 Olivieri]; O. Bodl. II 2185.1), διὰ λιβάνου (Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* 4.7 [xii 758 K.]; O. Bodl. II 2184.1-2).

3-4 καδμείας. Calamine, a zinc oxide, very common in collyria.

4 ψιμιθί(σ). White lead. ψιμίθιον is the standard spelling of ψιμίθιον in the papyri: see L. C. Youtie, *P. Mich. XVII: The Michigan Medical Codex* (Atlanta 1996) 8 n. to l. 10, who observes that of eleven occurrences of the word in published papyri, only one, MPER XIII 6.9, can be shown to have used the form ψιμίθιον; see now also PSI X 1180 fr. A ii 33, iii 12, fr. C ii 27, retaining the form ψιμίθιον in each case.

4-5 κόμμεως. The alleviating effect of gum arabic, as attested by Dioscorides (see 1 n.), will have been especially desirable in this 'mild' collyrium.

5 κρόκου. Saffron crocus, the stigmas of the crocus flower. Dsc. 1.26 [129-31 W.] recognises its emollient properties, and notes its use in the treatment of rheum in the eyes. Cf. 4979 4 n.

6 ῥῶν. Apart from the binding properties of eggs, Cels. *De med.* 6.6.8b recognises the benefits of egg white and breast milk in making collyria milder, and the use of such recipes for more serious inflammations of the eyes: 'the more serious the inflammation, the more soothing must be the drug through the addition of egg white or breast milk' (*quo gravior vero quaeque inflammatio est, eo magis leniri medicamentum debet adiecto vel albo ovi vel muliebri lacte*). The purely therapeutic prescription of eggs in the recipe here should be distinguished from their additional use in softening the collyrium for application in the case of ἐπιφορὰ, as described at 10-13.

9 πρ(ός). Three verticals close together, topped by a horizontal. There are faint traces of what must have been the loop of rho high in the line above pi's crossbar.

διαθέσεις. διάθεσις is regularly used in a medical context to denote an underlying condition or state of the body, often pathological. In the context of ophthalmological recipes, however, the term is often contrasted with recent or incipient eye complaints (e.g. ps.-Gal. *Intro.* 15 [xiv 765 K.], πρὸς ἀρχομένας ὀφθαλμίας . . . πρὸς τὰς διαθέσεις), suggesting that it refers specifically to established or chronic conditions. ἀχάριστα collyria were apparently regarded by some as unsuitable for such established eye conditions: Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* 4.7 [xii 749-50 K.], for example, referring to an ἀχάριστον recipe, notes that ὅπου δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διαθέσεις, ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ τοῦ κολλυρίου. On ἀχάριστα, cf. esp. Andorlini, 'P. Grenf. I 52'. Note that this type of collyrium has as its mixing agents water, wine or wine-vinegar, never egg or milk as we find in its 'mild' counterpart.

10 ἰστᾶ. ἰστᾶω is a rare alternative to ἰστημι in medical literature, but cf. e.g. Gal. *AA* [ii 460 K.], and Meletius, *Nat. hom.* 30 [p. 136.30 Cramer].

11 ἐπιφορὰν. Chronic discharge of fluid from the eyes, mentioned specifically in other recipes for 'mild' collyria at Scrib. Larg. *Comp.* 27 and Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* 4.7 [xii 758 K.]. It is also a condition for which ἀχάριστα collyria were considered suitable: cf. Andorlini, 'P. Grenf. I 52' 8.

12 κράσῃ ἢ. This appears to be a phonetic error (cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 235-42), though perhaps

affected by μέση preceding. That κράσει ἢ should be read is suggested by Aët. *Iatr.* 7.117 [CMG VIII 2.394.5–6 Olivieri], χρῶ μετ' ὕδου ἢ γάλακτος ἢ ὕδατος μέση κράσει ἢ παχυτέρῃ.

14 The surface of the papyrus is badly damaged throughout the line, with many dislodged fibres. Of the second letter, there is a trace perhaps of a horizontal mid-line; of the fourth, a steep diagonal rises from left to right high in the line, perhaps of upsilon; of the eighth, a curving movement rises then descends, with a diagonal oblique projecting from its lower extreme, apparently of upsilon; of the last letter or letters, the feet of two verticals survive.

D. LEITH

## 4978. MEDICAL RECIPES

75/65(a)

7 × 7.5 cm

Second or third century

A single column, copied with the fibres, of which the lower margin alone is lost. The back is blank. The papyrus has been cut to size, and the original edges survive at top and right, and presumably also at left in its lower portion, though it is badly damaged.

The hand is medium-sized, upright, informal and rounded. Characteristic letters are α and λ with high obliques, often touching the following letter near top; large, rounded ε; large ζ ending in a broad flourish; small μ with deep centre; ω rising to full height in the middle. There are broad similarities to *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 86 (later second century, assigned), and *GLH* 20c (mid third century); cf. also *LVI* 3836 (second century, assigned). I would be more inclined to assign the hand to the later second century, but a third century dating should not be excluded.

The text preserves three complete medical recipes of varied application, each begun on a new line in ekthesis. No punctuation or lectional signs are in evidence. Measures are abbreviated. There is a single instance of itacism (5).

ἀρ]αιωτικόν· μήκω-  
νο]ς σπέρμα καὶ μυ-  
ῶν] ἀφόδευμα ἴσα  
μείξ]ας μετὰ μύρον  
5 ἐπί]χρειε τὸ μέτωπον.  
ἐμε]τικόν· κύλφιον ὕ-  
δατ]ι ζέεας πότισον.  
καθαρτικόν· ἄλατος  
κύ(αθον) ᾠ, μέλιτος κύ(αθον) ᾠ,  
10 ὄξους κύ(αθον) ᾠ, ὕδατος  
κυ(άθους) ζ̄ ὁμοῦ μείξας

κίρνα κατὰ κύαθον καὶ  
πίε νήστῃς.

5 1. ἐπίχρειε 9–11 κυ = κύαθον

'Rarefying drug: having mixed poppy seed and mouse droppings in equal amounts with scented oil, anoint the forehead.

'[Emetic]: having boiled sulphur in water, give to drink.

'Purgative: having blended together 1 kyathos of salt, 1 kyathos of honey, 1 kyathos of vinegar, 7 kyathoi of water, mix by the kyathos and drink on an empty stomach.'

1 ἀρ]αιωτικόν. At the break, the end of a horizontal meets a vertical at mid-point. It is too low for τ1, and most resembles α1 or ε1. ]η seems to be excluded, though Professor Andorlini suggests ὕπ]ρωτικόν, which would be very tempting, especially in view of the inclusion of poppy seed in the recipe (cf. VIII 1088 66). The traces and available space, however, seem to guarantee ἀρ]αιωτικόν. Galen describes ἀραιωτικά drugs as those which open up the pores of the skin (*Simpl. med. temp. ac. fac.* [x1 749 K.]), and refers to their general warming properties (ibid. [x1 753, 754 K.]). The application of this recipe to the forehead, and its use of poppy seed, might suggest that its purpose was to relieve some sort of perceived blockage or congestion in the head, perhaps associated with pain.

1–2 μήκω]νο]ς σπέρμα. Poppy seed is used in a wide variety of remedies, but principally exploited for its cooling and narcotic properties (Dsc. 4.64.2 [11 219 W.]; Gal. *Simpl. med. temp. ac. fac.* [x11 72–4 K.]). Dsc. 4.64.3 recommends its application to the forehead and temples in order to promote sleep, but it was used also for headache (cf. the selection of recipes for headache using poppy seed at Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* [x11 556–8 K.]).

2–3 μυ]ῶν] ἀφόδευμα. Mouse droppings, when applied externally, are almost exclusively associated in surviving literature with the treatment of alopecia, a condition involving greying of the hair with subsequent hair loss (cf. ps.-Gal. *Def. med.* 314 [x19 431 K.]; ps.-Gal. *Remediis parabilibus* [x19 325 K.]). This application goes back at least to Asclepiades of Bithynia (fl. later second century BC): cf. Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* [x11 414.2–3 K.]. It is also found in Dioscorides (2.80.5 [1 163 W.]), while Pliny, *NH* 29.106, names Varro as his source for this treatment, and it continues to be repeated by subsequent writers. On the other hand, mouse droppings are attested as having a 'dispersing' (διαφορητική) quality (cf. Zopyrus ap. Orib. *Coll. med.* 14.62.1 [CMG VI 1.2.231 Raeder], preserving a long list of simples under the heading ὅσα διαφορεῖ, in which ἀφοδος μυῶν appears at 231.18 Raeder). Such a property was considered active in the relief of certain kinds of pain in the head (cf. Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* [x11 548–9 K.]), and it may be related to the rarefying action referred to in the recipe's title.

4 μετὰ μύρον. The presence of perfumed oil in this recipe would presumably also have gone some way towards counteracting the unwelcome odour of the mouse droppings, but such unguents were commonly used as mixing agents for the preparation of ointments and plasters, and their warming and soothing properties are often noted. When applied to the head in the form of an ointment, as here, perfumed oils were widely considered effective for headaches (cf. e.g. Dsc. 1.43.4 [1 43 W.], on the effectiveness of rose-oil for headaches; Archigenes ap. Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* [x11 541–3 K.], describing the use of many kinds of scented oil for pains in the head).

5 ἐπί]χρειε. Of compounds of -χρίω, by far the most frequent in medical writers are ἐπιχρίω and καταχρίω. κατὰ]χρειε seems too long for the space. Another possibility is the much rarer διά]χρειε, used at Orib. *Syn. ad Eust.* 8.17.6 [CMG VI 3.255 Raeder] of rubbing an ointment, as here, into the forehead.

6 ἐμε]τικόν. End of horizontal meeting iota near top, as of tau or gamma. There is space for perhaps three letters at the beginning of the line here, and the attested purgative properties of silphium (see below) suggest ἐμε]τικόν as the most likely supplement.

σίλφιον. Silphium (*Ferula tingitana*) was used for a very wide variety of ailments (cf. e.g. Plin. *NH* 22.100–106). When administered orally in liquid form, Dioscorides, at 3. 80. 5 [II 96 W.], describes its effectiveness against poisons, bites or stings and poisoned weapons, chills, convulsive tension, sudden spasms and ruptures, as well as its ability to promote menstruation. He also describes its purgative properties when administered alone, paralleled at Gal. *Simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* 8. 16 [XII 123 K.] and Plin. *NH* 19.43. Silphium swallowed with a liquid is also attested specifically as an emetic at Gal. *De antidotis* [XIV 143 K.], for those who have drunk bull's blood.

6–7 ῥ[δατ]ι. Of the final letter, the upper part of a vertical survives. The context calls for a liquid in which the silphium is to be boiled, leaving little alternative but a reference to water.

8–13 Salt and vinegar were widely used in purgatives. While honey may have been intended to sweeten the mixture, Dioscorides also refers to its diuretic effects (2.82.3 [I 166 W.]). We may note that the four ingredients found here are also those used in the preparation of oxymel as described at Dsc. 5. 14 [III 15–16 W.]. This is clearly a purgative of the most basic kind.

9–11 In these lines κύαθον is abbreviated simply to κυ, without any further marker.

12 κίρνα. κιννάω in medical literature is used of mixing or tempering liquids: cf. e.g. Dsc. 3.22.4 [I 29 W.]; Gal. *De ther. ad Pis.* [XIV 250 K.]; Herodotus *ap. Orib. Coll. med.* 5.30.36, 38 [CMG VI 1.1.150 Raeder]. Directions to mix the ingredients, however, have already been given (11). The sense required here is of dividing or portioning out the liquid in certain amounts ('by the *kyathos*') once it has been mixed, but I have found no parallel for such a usage of κιννάω.

D. LEITH

#### 4979. LIST OF ITEMS

104/82(c)

4.5 × 4 cm

Second or third century

A piece of thick, poor quality papyrus, originally with a horizontal fold in the centre. The text is written against the fibres, while the other side is blank, and all margins save the upper survive. The lines exhibit a marked downward slope. The semi-cursive hand is very small, written with a relatively thick nib. A similar impression is given by *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 65 (third century, assigned), but most letter forms can be broadly paralleled in *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 82 and 86 (both second century, assigned); cf. also LV 3799 (second or third century, assigned) and LXVI 4503 (third century, assigned).

The text is a simple list, with each item recorded in the nominative singular on a new line. The fact that all the terms found here can refer to objects or substances attested as having some therapeutic purpose might point to a broadly medical context, and it may be that the list represents some sort of inventory or 'shopping list' associated with a doctor's surgery (*ιατρείον*). Cf. perhaps P. Michael. 36 for a list of medicaments that was not compiled for medical purposes, though it is clearly of a quite different form and nature from the present text, recording also quantities and values. If the items listed are linked by their medical application, they cannot

be more closely associated through a common therapeutic purpose: in particular, the *πιλίον* in a medical context was most likely for treating ailments of the head, the *γλωσσοκόμον* for fractured limbs (see 2 and 3 nn.). On the other hand, the *πιλίον* and *γλωσσοκόμον* more commonly refer to everyday items of personal property, while the other three recorded items also have non-medical uses, such that the medical aspect should perhaps not be pressed.

].  
πιλίον  
γλωσσοκόμον  
κρόκος  
5 κανδαράκη  
ἀρσενικόν

3 1. γλωσσοκόμον

'...; cap?; chest?; saffron; realgar; orpiment.'

2 The *πιλίον*, diminutive of *πίλος*, generally designates an article of clothing made of felt, most commonly used of a cap worn on the head. It is mentioned as such an article of personal clothing in P. Cairo Zen. IV 59659.23, P. Tebt. I 230, XXXI 2598 5 and P. Ryl. IV 627v.212. In his edition of 2598, J. W. B. Barns suggested that the *πιλίον* requested there by a charioteer from his trainer may be identified with the yellow caps worn by the Antinoë charioteers [*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 81; *ed. pr.* S. J. Gasiorowski, *JEA* 17 (1931) 1–9; *ed. alt.* E. G. Turner, *JHS* (1973) 192–5, the cap being described there as a 'crash-helmet']. The connotations of protectiveness implicit in the charioteer's cap are perhaps further highlighted by the use of cognate terms in several sources for certain kinds of medical covering for the head. Pl. *Resp.* 406d, for example, refers to certain *πιλίδια* placed on the head by doctors, apparently as a means of applying medicaments. Leonides *ap. Aët. Iatr.* 6.1 [*CMG* VIII 2.124 Olivieri] recommends that the head be protected by a *πιλάριον* after a surgical procedure to drain fluid in cases of hydrocephalus (*καὶ πιλαρίῳ κεπέσθω τὸ κεφάλαιον*). At Sor. *De fasciis* 2 [*CMG* IV.159 Ilberg], the *πιλίον* represents a particular method of bandaging the head, whereby a strip of linen was drawn in a sort of zig-zag pattern from one side of the head to the other (an illustration survives in cod. Laur. LXXXIV 7 [pl. 1.2 Ilberg]). The term *πιλάριον* is also attested, however, as a type of eye-salve (cf. *Aët. Iatr.* 7.103 [*CMG* VIII 2.360 Olivieri]; Paul. Aeg. 7.6.11 [*CMG* IX 2.337 Heiberg]) or as a plaster used against abrasions (Orib. *Ecl. med.* 89.23 [*CMG* VI 2.2.269 Raeder]); see generally S. Russo, *Le calzature nei papiri di età greco-romana* (Florence 2004) 94–6, on the meanings of these terms, and PSI XV 1541.2 for a further attestation in a private letter. The item referred to in the papyrus was presumably an object, and if it had a medical purpose, then it is perhaps most likely that it was some form of protective head covering such as Leonides' *πιλάριον*, or indeed Plato's *πιλίδιον*.

3 *γλωσσοκόμον*. For interchange of *c* and *z*, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 123. A variety of spellings of *γλωσσοκόμον* is attested on papyrus: cf. P. Tebt. II 414.21, *γλωσσοκόμον*; P. Mil. II 76.21, *κλωσσοκόμ[ω]*; PGM XIII 1009, *κλωσσοκόμον*; SB VIII 9834b.46, *γλωσσοκόμον*.

The *γλωσσοκόμον*, with such variants as *γλωσσοκομείον*, standardly refers to a chest or case for the storage of valuables, generally made of wood (see esp. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* (1973)

442–4, for discussion of its derivation and meanings). It could be of varying size: cf. P. Tebt. II 414.21, *γλωσκόκομον τὸ μέγα*, with LIX 4005 6, *μικρὸν δὲ γλωσσοκωμίον*. In a surgical context, the *γλωσκόκομον* refers to a box-splint, open at both ends and placed over a fractured leg to prevent movement. Galen offers a description at *In Hip. Fract.* 2.64 [xviii/2 501–5 K.], stating that the medical variety must be longer and narrower than ordinary *γλωσκόκομα*, since it must not be thicker than the leg if it is to prevent further injury to the fracture. It is made of wood and rectangular in shape, and is thus to be distinguished from the cylindrical splint called the *ωαλήν* (Paul. Aeg. 6.106 [CMG IX 2.159 Heiberg] specifies that the *ωαλήν* is sometimes made of wood, sometimes of clay). Neither splint is associated with any part of the body other than the leg, and it may encase either the whole leg or only the calf if the fracture is located there (Gal. *ibid.* [xviii/2 504 K.]). Bandages and woollen padding were placed inside the splints to limit lateral movement and minimise articulation at the knee, and Galen adds that some doctors placed a straight piece of wood under the sole of the foot to prevent the splint from sliding upwards. A so-called ‘mechanical’ (*δργανικόν*) *γλωσκόκομον* was also developed, which employed a system of ropes, axles and pulleys built into the splint’s structure, designed to enable the broken bone to be extended and reset (Gal. *ibid.* [xviii/2 505–6 K.]); Orib. *Coll. med.* 46.1.76–88 [CMG VI 2.1.207–8 Raeder] and 49. 7 [CMG VI 2.2.12–13 Raeder]). Galen further observes that he knows of physicians who keep in reserve several *ωαλήνες* in a range of different shapes and sizes for potential patients (*In Hip. Fract.* 2.64 [xviii/2 504–5 K.]), and it may be that box-splints in general, including *γλωσκόκομα*, were regularly stored by doctors in their *ιατρεία* in case of emergency. The standard meaning of the term as a chest, however, may on the other hand point to an inventory list, the other items found here perhaps having been contained in the chest, although its position in the list would then be more difficult to explain: cf. e.g. SB XX 14403.1–2, *λόγος ἀ[να]λώμ(ατος) γλωσσοκόμου | χωρίου Εἰρήνης*; P. Dryton 37.3 and 42.12, with p. 283; P. Worp 14 ii 44.

4 *κρόκος*. Saffron crocus, the dried stigmas of the crocus flower, was widely used in a range of medical recipes, in particular for eye-salves, and is very commonly attested in medical papyri and ostraca spanning the third century BC to the sixth century AD (cf. V. Gazza, ‘Prescrizioni mediche nei papiri dell’Egitto greco-romano’, *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 86; also O. Bodl. II 2185.2; P. Amst. inv. 148.4; P. Ant. II 66r i 4; P. Ant. III 134.4; P. Athen. Univ. inv. 2780 i 20; P. Berl. Möller 13 ii 1; P. Mich. inv. 482 ii 24; P. Mich. inv. 3243.9; P. Strasb. inv. gr. 90 fr. 1 A 4; P. Tebt. II 273 iv; P. Tebt. II 677 fr. A 12; P. Vindob. Worp 20.3; P. Corn. inv. 47.4; P. Acad. inv. 4.10). Medical writers ascribe to it warming, digestive, soothing, astringent, and diuretic properties (Dsc. 1.26 [1 29–31 W.]; Gal. *Simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* 7.10 [xii 48 K.]). Saffron was also used, for example, as a dye to produce a yellow colouration in textiles.

5–6 *κανδαράκη* (realgar) and *ἀρσενικόν* (orpiment) are both natural sulphides of arsenic, the former of a more orange or red hue, the latter more yellow. They were likewise widely employed in medical recipes, often for the same purposes, but they are also found as discrete ingredients in the same recipe (e.g. Gal. *Comp. med. sec. loc.* [xiii 295–301 K.]). Their general caustic and cleansing properties are attested (Dsc. 5.104–5 [iii 74–5 W.]; Gal. *Simpl. med. temp. ac fac.* [xii 212, 235 K.]). Among Greek medical papyri, *κανδαράκη* is mentioned in P. Ryl. III 531 recto ii 16 and verso ii 48, and along with *κρόκος* in SB XX 14501 fr. 1+2 ii 4 and 10; *ἀρσενικόν* in VIII 1088 ii 28 and PUG I 15.3. Both *ἀρσενικόν* and *κανδαράκη* are found in P. Horak 15 fr. 4 ii 25–6. They were also used as ingredients in the manufacture of pigments (cf. e.g. the presence of *ἀρσενικόν* in lists of pigments at MPER XIII 13.4 and P. Horak 63.6).

D. LEITH

### III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

#### 4980–4999. DOCUMENTS ADDRESSED TO AUTHORITIES

##### 4980. CENSUS DECLARATION

75/77(a)

11 × 23 cm

7 March 34

Only the concluding part of the document survives, with the oath and the date clause. A plurality of persons were declared (12), and these included women (6). The text uses a formula not attested elsewhere, which cannot be restored in full (5–8). The absence of a subscription (contrast II 254, 4981, P. Oxy. Hels. 10) may suggest that this is a copy. The back is blank.

Other Oxyrhynchite declarations for the census of 33/4 are P. Oxy. Hels. 10, which dates from the same month as 4980, 4981, and perhaps II 254 (it could also come from the previous census) and 256 (date uncertain). There are two other declarations from the same census, both Arsinoite (SB I 5661, X 10759).

A descriptive catalogue of census declarations is given in R. S. Bagnall, B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (1994, repr. 2006) [hereafter: *Demography*] 179–312, updated on pp. 314–25 of the reprint, and by J. M. S. Cowey, D. Kah, *ZPE* 163 (2007) 179–82; add now LXXIII 4956–7, and those published in this volume.

Καίσαρα [ c.16

Σεβαστὸν [Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ

Σεβαστοῦ [υἱὸν ἢ μὴν ἐξ ὑγιουῦς

καὶ ἐπ’ ἀλη[θείας ἐπιδεδωκέναι

5 τὴν προ[κ(ειμένην) c.4 ] . . . . ἀν . . . .

γυναικ(ῶν) τ[ c.5 ] τῶν παρ’ ἐμοὶ

οἰκούντ[ων c.3 ] ἢ παράκειται ἢ ἐ-

κάστου . . [ c.3 καὶ ] μηδένα ἕτερον

μήτε Ρωμ[αίων μ]ηδὲ ἀπελεύθ(ερον)

10 μηδὲ Ἀλ[εξαν]δρέα μηδὲ ἐπίξε-

νον μηδ’ [ἄλλο]ν μηδένα τῶ κα-

θόλου παρέξ τῶν προγεγρα(μμένων) οἰκεί-

ν παρ’ ἐμῶν. εὐορκούντι μὲν μοι εὖ εἶη,

ἐπιορκούντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.

15 (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,

Φαμ(ενωθ) ια̅.

6 γυναι<sup>κ</sup> 9 απελευ<sup>θ</sup> 12 προγεγρα<sup>α</sup> 13 ἐμοί: ε corr. from α 15 L  
16 φα<sup>α</sup>

'... Caesar... Augustus Imperator, son of the divine Augustus, that I have indeed honestly and truthfully submitted the above (return?) of... women... who live with me... , to which everyone's... is annexed, and that no one else, neither Roman nor freedman nor Alexandrian nor alien nor anyone else at all lives with me except for the above-written. If I observe the oath, may it be well with me, but if I swear falsely, the reverse.

'Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Phamenoth 11.'

1ff. For the oath clause, see P. Oxy. Hels. 10.15 n.

1-3 The oaths by Tiberius display slight variations in the description of the emperor; see the listing in P. Sijp. pp. 117-18; also CPR XXIII 1.13-16 n. There are three other examples from this year, P. Oxy. Hels. 10 and the Arsinoite P. Sijp. 19, which have δμνύω Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Ἀυτοκράτορα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν; and 4981 3-6 δ[μνύω Τιβέριον] Καίσαρα [Νέον Σεβαστὸν] Ἀυτοκρ[άτορα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] υἱόν (restorations suggested by space). It is unclear what stood in the break in line 1. One could reckon with a dittography, Σεβαστὸν Ἀυτοκράτορα written twice, but this seems rather long for the space.

5-8 This papyrus and 4981 7-9 offer a novel version of the formula, previously known in simpler form: P. Oxy. Hels. 10.18-19 τ[ὴν γρ]αφ[ὴν] | τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ οἰκούντων; II 255 = W. Chr. 201.17-18 τ[ὴν π]ροκειμένην | χ[ρ]α[φ]ὴν τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ [ο]ικούντων (ἀ[πο]χ[ρ]α[φ]ὴν BL VIII 234, but the on-line image indicates that nothing is written after π[ροκειμένην] in 17).

5 ]... αη... In view of γυναικ(ών) in 6, one would expect γραφὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ (with abbreviations), but I cannot read it in the remains. γραφ[ὴν] would be possible, but the upright before alpha is hard to explain. The semi-horizontal after the putative nu could conceivably be part of delta, but what follows, the lower part of a descending oblique, is not part of rho, and the potential delta is not raised in the line to indicate an abbreviation.

7-8 ] ἡ παράκειται ἢ ἐκάστου. [ ἡ probably refers to the putative γραφὴν, which may well have stood in 5. What would have been added next to each person declared is their age, perhaps accompanied by physical characteristics and occupational details, but I am not aware of a suitable technical term. The only word that would match what is visible after ἐκάστου is ἐξ[τρία], but this does not have the expected sense (ζ could be read instead of ε, and then ρ, but I cannot think of a plausible reconstruction).

11-12 τῶ καθόλου. The addition of this element to the formula is new.

12-13 οἰκεῖν. The word division is odd. Over nu and intersecting the theta that starts the previous line, there is a right-facing arc or sigma; I do not see what it meant.

16 The date falls in the year of the census; cf. 4981, 4982.

N. GONIS

#### 4981. CENSUS DECLARATION

1 B.115/G(h)

8.9 × 12.7 cm

26(?) April 34

Like 4980, this fragment too comes from the lower part of declaration for the census of 33/4. The declarant was a man, and a plurality of persons (8), perhaps in-

cluding an one-year-old child (1), lived in his house, which he seems to have shared with his brother (9). The subscription (18) is in the same hand as the rest of the text.

The back is blank.

ἐνιαύσι[ο(ς?)  
Ἀπολλ[  
ὁ προγεγρα(μμένος) δ[μνύω Τιβέριον  
Καίσαρα [Νέον Σεβαστὸν  
5 Ἀυτοκρ[άτορα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
υἱὸν εἰ μ[ὴν ἐξ ὑγιούσ καὶ ἐπ' ἀλη-  
θίας ἐπεδεδ[ωκέναι τὴν γραφὴν τῶν  
ἀνδρῶν κ[αὶ γυναικῶν τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ  
καὶ τῶ ἀδελ[φῶ οἰκούντων  
10 καὶ μηδένα ἕτερον μήτε Ῥωμαῖο[ν  
μηδ' ἀπελεύθερον μηδ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρέα)  
μηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα παρέξ τῶν  
προγεγρα(μμένων) οἰκῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ τῶ ἀδελφ(ῶ)  
καὶ μηδὲν διεψεύσθαι. εὐορκούν-  
15 τι μὲν μοι εἶη, ἐπιορκούντι δὲ τὰ  
ἐναντία. (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος,  
Σεβαστοῦ, Παχ...  
Ἀπολλ[  
...[  
3, 13 προγεγρα<sup>α</sup> 6 l. ἡ 7 l. -θείας ἐπίδε- 11 αλεξ<sup>α</sup> 13 l. οἰκεῖν ἀδελ<sup>φ</sup>  
16 L

'... one-year old(?)... I, Apoll—... the above-written, swear by Tiberius Caesar Novus Augustus Imperator, son of the divine Augustus, that I have indeed honestly and truthfully submitted the return of the men and women who live with me and with my brother, and that no one else, neither Roman nor freedman nor Alexandrian nor anyone else lives with me and with my brother except for the above-written, and that I have not lied in any respect. If I observe the oath, may it be well with me, but if I swear falsely, the reverse. Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon (1?).

'I, Apoll—...'

1 ἐνιαύσι[ο(ς). The scribe first wrote something else (an oblique linked to alpha is clearly visible), and then penned upsilon partly over it. The word should mean that the person declared is one year old; it has occurred in one other census return, SB VI 9572.18-19 (61/2), as re-edited by R. A. Coles, *JEA* 52 (1966) 135-7 (p. 137 for comment). Cf. also P. Strasb. VIII 768.18 (174/5 or later), an extract from a census return, though the context is different.

7-9 For the formula, see **4980** 5-8 n. Line 9 is short as restored; there may have been some additional textual loss at the end of the line.

17 Παχ. . . After chi, what seems to be alpha, followed by an oblique stroke. Even though chi is not superscript, we could reckon with an abbreviation: Παχ(ων) α. But the oblique that follows is not a numerical marker at this time.

N. GONIS

**4982. CENSUS DECLARATION**

27 3B.39/D(1-3)a

6 × 22 cm

28 May 62  
Plate VII

What survives is the lower part of the document, blank on the back. The part lost would have contained the prescript and the names of the persons declared. The declarant and his family resided in the house of the declarant's wife, in the village of Phoboou. None of the persons mentioned in this text is known from elsewhere. The text uses a formula otherwise attested in Arsinoite declarations (see 2-4 n.), but other formulas are typical of Oxyrhynchus (see 5 n., 13-15 n.).

This is the second Oxyrhynchite return for the census of 61/2 to be published, after SB XII 10788B, which dates from the same day as **4982**. The only other published declaration for this census is the Arsinoite SB VI 9572 (re-ed. *JEA* 52 (1966) 135-7).

]. [

κατ]αγινόμεθα δὲ ἐν

τῆ τ]ῆς γυναικός μου Ταποντ(ῶτος)

τῆς] Ἀπολλωνίου οἰκίας

5 ἐν κ]ώμῃ Φοβῶου τῆς α(ὐτῆς) τοπ(αρχίας).

κ]αὶ ὀμνῶ Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον

Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν

Ἀυτοκράτορα ἐξ υἱοῦς καὶ

ἐπ' ἀληθ(είας) ἐπιδεδωκέναι

10 τ]ῆν γραφήν. εὐορκοῦντι

μ]έν μοι εὖ εἴη[ι], ἐπιορκοῦντι

δ]ὲ τὰ ἐναντία.

Ἰέρ]αξ Ζωΐλου ἐπιδέδωκα

κ]αὶ ὀμῶμεκα τὸν προγεγρα(μμένον)

15 ὄ]ρκο[ν]. Πλουτίων Ἡρακλείδ(ου)

ἔ]γραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ

ε]ἰδότης γράμματα. (ἔτους) η

Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος

C]εβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Ἀυτοκράτ(ορος),

20

Πα(υνι) γ̄.

2 κατ]αγινόμεθα: ε corr. from αι 3 ταπον<sup>τ</sup> 4 l. οἰκία 5 ατογ 9 αλη<sup>ο</sup>  
14 l. ὀμῶμεκα προγεγρ<sup>α</sup> 15 ηρακλει<sup>δ</sup> 17 L 19 αυτοκρα<sup>τ</sup> 20 π̄

‘. . . And we reside in the house of my wife Tapontos daughter of Apollonius in the village of Phoboou of the same toparchy. And I swear by Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I have honestly and truthfully submitted the return. If I observe the oath, may it be well with me, but if I swear falsely, the reverse. I, Hierax son of Zoilus, have submitted (the return) and have sworn the above-written oath. I, Ploution son of Heraclides, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters. Year 8 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Payni 3.’

2-4 κατ]αγινόμεθα δὲ ἐν κτλ. Examples of this formulation are listed by J. M. S. Cowey, D. Kah, *ZPE* 163 (2007) 176 n. 155. It comes after the statement that one is registered for a given ‘house-by-house registration’, and is usually (not in P. Berl. Leihg. I 16) followed by a listing of the persons declared.

5 Φοβῶου. The reading is not easy, but I doubt that any other toponym was intended. I have assumed that the part between phi and upsilon is very quickly written, as if in *Verschleifung*, so that not all letters can be made out individually. Phoboou was a village in the Eastern toparchy.

τῆς α(ὐτῆς) τοπ(αρχίας) implies that the toparchy was mentioned earlier in the text. This could have been mentioned with reference to the *topogrammateus* (cf. **4983** 4), the *origo* of the declarant, or to property owned by the declarant in a village of this same toparchy. This reference to a toparchy in a text of this date suits an Oxyrhynchite provenance.

10 τ]ῆν γραφήν. This is the latest example of the use of this term in this context instead of ἀπογραφή; cf. P. Oxy. Hels. 10.18 n.

13-15 ἐπιδέδωκα [κ]αὶ ὀμῶμεκα τὸν προγεγρα(μμένον) [ὄ]ρκο[ν]. This formulation is characteristic of Oxyrhynchite documents. P. Palau Rib. 10 and P. Wisc. I 16, which attest it and are said to be of unknown provenance, are likely to be Oxyrhynchite.

20 Πα(υνι). A short horizontal stroke over alpha is better interpreted as a degenerated upsilon than an abbreviation marker that would allow any letter to be supplied, as in later times; i.e., I do not think that Pachon was meant.

N. GONIS

**4983. CENSUS DECLARATION**

46 5B.51/E(4-5)b

8.1 × 15.4 cm

c.76  
Plate VII

The upper part of a declaration addressed to the strategus (probably new; see 22-3 n.) and royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite nome, the *topogrammateus* of the Upper toparchy, and the *komogrammateus* and *laographoi* of Cercemunis. The declarant is a woman who registers her share of a vacant house in the village of Cercemunis. The text does not mention her place of residence, for which she may have

submitted another declaration (cf. Bagnall–Frier, *Demography* 15); this could have been in a different locality, possibly in Oxyrhynchus, the place of her origin. There are no other declarations of uninhabited property from the first century except for SB XII 10788B (62). Such declarations ‘presumably have the function of assuring the government that there are no persons to be registered outside of those listed in the sum total of household declarations’ (Bagnall–Frier, *Demography* 14).

The text bears no date, but the reference to the royal scribe Nicander establishes that the census is that of 75/6. Three other declarations for this census are known: II 361 descr. and the Arsinoite BGU XI 2088 and P. Minnesota inv. 1381982 (described in Bagnall–Frier, *Demography* 186). Only 361 preserves a date, and this points to 76/7, though the reading of the year-number is uncertain (Bagnall, *GRBS* 32 (1991) 258 n. 12). It has been observed that census declarations from the Oxyrhynchite, the Arsinoite, and other nomes were usually filed in the year following the decree of the prefect (see M. Hombert, C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l’Égypte romaine* (1952) 76–84; Bagnall–Frier, *Demography* 16–18), but this pattern does not apply to the first century: ‘filing during the census year itself seems prevalent at least through 61/2 and perhaps through 75/6’ (Bagnall–Frier, *Demography* 6); see also 4980–82, filed during the year of the census. These early declarations date from between Phamenoth (February–March) of the census year (P. Oxy. Hels. 10, 4980) and Phaophi (September–October) of the year after (II 255 = W. Chr. 201). We may thus assume that 4983 was filed some time in 76 or even in 77.

4983 displays some well-known features of first-century declarations, especially from the Oxyrhynchite nome. These are mostly omissions of certain elements common in later documents of this type: the term ἀπογραφή does not occur; there is no mention of the year of the census; and there is no reference to the edict of the prefect ordering the census.

The text runs parallel to the fibres. The back is blank.

(m.2) >

(m.1) Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Ἡρακλείδωι  
 στρα(τηγῶ) καὶ Νικάνδ(ρω) βα(σιλικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) καὶ Διονυσίω  
 τοπ(ο)γρα(μματεῖ) ἄνω{ι} τοπαρχ(ίας) καὶ Σαραπίω(νι)  
 5 κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Κερκεμοῦν(εως) καὶ (vac.)  
 (vac.) λαογρά(φοις) τῆ(ς) ἀ(ὕ)τῆ(ς) Κερκεμοῦν(εως)  
 παρὰ Σιεάπιος τῆς Σαραπίωνος  
 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μητρὸς Ἀριστοῦτ(ος)  
 τῆς Ἀρίστωνος τῶν ἀπ’ Ὀξυρύνχ(ων)  
 10 πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ  
 υἱοῦ Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Διογέν[ο]υ[ς].

ἀπογράφομαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν  
 μοι καὶ τῆι ἀδελφῆι Θαΐδι  
 οἰκίαν θησαυρὸν λεγομένην[ν  
 15 ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ, ἐν ἧι οὐ-  
 δεῖς ἀπογράφεται οὐδὲ  
 καταγίνεται.] καὶ ὀμνύω [

3 στρ<sup>α</sup> νικανδ<sup>δ</sup>ρω<sup>ρ</sup> διονυσι<sup>ω</sup> 4 τοστ<sup>ρ</sup> τοπαρ<sup>χ</sup> και: κ corr. from c σαραπι<sup>ω</sup>  
 5 κωμογρα<sup>α</sup> κερκεμου<sup>ν</sup> 6 λαογρα<sup>α</sup> τη<sup>α</sup> κερκεμου<sup>ν</sup> 8 αριστου<sup>τ</sup> 9 οξυρυνγ<sup>α</sup> 15 αυτη:  
 υ corr. from τ

‘To Tiberius Claudius Heraclides, strategus, and Nicander, royal scribe, and Dionysius, district-scribe of the Upper toparchy, and Sarapion, village-scribe of Cercemunis, and (blank) registrars of the same Cercemunis, from Sieapis daughter of Sarapion son of Apollonius, mother Aristous daughter of Ariston, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, with her son Ariston son of Diogenes as guardian. I register the house that belongs to me and to my sister, Thais, the so-called ‘granary’, in the same village, in which no one is registered nor lives; and I swear . . .’

1 Just above and to the left of the beginning of the text there is the sign >. Its purpose is unknown, but it may have been a kind of official mark; cf. the cross at the top of the census return XII 1547 (119) and the *epikrisis* applications VII 1028 (86) and XII 1452 (127/8).

2–6 All but one of the first-century census returns from Oxyrhynchus that have their top preserved are addressed to more than one official; the only exception is P. Oxy. Hels. 10 (34), addressed to the strategus. II 254 (19/20 or 33/4) is addressed to two *topogrammateis-komogrammateis*, II 255 (48) adds the strategus and the royal scribe, and SB XII 10788B (62) and 4983 further add the *laographoi*. Declarations addressed to a plurality of officials have been attested only from the Oxyrhynchite and the Arsinoite nomes. See Hombert–Préaux, *Recherches* 84–97, 101–2; Bagnall–Frier, *Demography* 21; Th. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* i (2002) 113–18 (for the Oxyrhynchite nome).

2–3 Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Ἡρακλείδωι στρα(τηγῶ). This strategus is new. He should be placed between *Κουτώριος Κωσίβιος*, attested in 72/3, and *Κλαύδιος Ἡράκλειος*, who first occurs on 5.ix.77 (II 276); see J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (2006) 92. However, one may question whether Tiberius Claudius Heraclides and Claudius Heraclius are one and the same person, the difference in the names being due to the scribe of the present document. We find *Ἡρακλείωι* in XLV 3264 7 (80/81); in 276 15 the name is restored, *Ἡρακλε[ισ]ω*, and seems fairly certain (the on-line image indicates that it suits the space better than *Ἡρακλε[ισ]ω*).

3 Νικάνδ(ρω) βα(σιλικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ). Nicander is attested in office in several documents of 72/3; see Kruse, *Königliche Schreiber* ii 1016. X 1266 refers to two royal scribes in office during this same year (72/3): Pamphilus (line 2) and Nicander (l. 27); it has been thought that Pamphilus succeeded Nicander in the course of the year (see Kruse, *Königliche Schreiber* ii 1016 n. 267; the same order is adopted by Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*<sup>2</sup> 160), but 4985 suggests that the opposite was the case (it would be uneconomical to reckon with a second stint of Nicander as royal scribe).

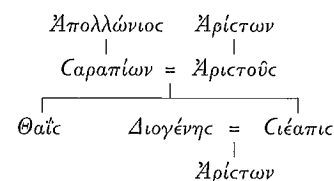
4 τοπ(ο)γρα(μματεῖ). On this office, see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (1917) 164–5; S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938) 100, 397 n. 19.

5 Κερκεμοῦν(εως). Cf. 6. This is a well-attested village, located in the Upper toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

6 λαογρά(φοις). Cf. 4991 1. On these officials, see L. Capponi, *ZPE* 140 (2002) 179, with

references. In villages their number varied from two to six, so that it is probably correct to resolve the abbreviation in the plural; cf. Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 95-7. The space left blank at the end of line 5 and the beginning of 6 indicates that the names of *laographoi* were to be added later, which never happened.

7-13 The text includes many names in the self-identification of the declarant despite its early date and the presence of a guardian; see Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 102, and Bagnall-Frier, *Demography* 22. (Cf. also below, 9-10 n.). None of these persons can be identified with people already attested in the papyri. The family tree may be presented as follows:



7 *Κιέσις*. The name \**Κιέσις* is not attested, though cf. *Κιαιέσις* (gen.) in P. Mich. V 238.60 (Tebt., 46), which must be a version of the same name. For the frequent interchange of *αι* and *ε*, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 192-3, 278-86, and in particular 279 n. 1, and 285-6 for the interchange of *a* and *e*. *Κιε* (*Κια*, *Κιος*), meaning 'cedar' in Coptic, is used as a personal name for both men and women; see G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen die Kopten* (1929) 54, 72. *Κιέσις* could be a compound theophoric name, meaning 'the cedar of Apis'.

9-10 τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 106-7 (sim. 103 n. 7) observed that in first-century declarations from Oxyrhynchus the origin of the declarant was not indicated. This found further support from P. Oxy. Hels. 10 (34) and SB XII 10788b (62), published subsequently, but is now disproved by **4983**, which attests a formulation common in such texts in the second and third centuries.

10-11 For guardians of women in census-returns, see Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 59-61; Bagnall-Frier, *Demography* 13. Since the guardian of Sieapis is her son and not her husband, she may be widowed or divorced; cf. Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 167-8.

12 ἀπογράφομαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν. This seems to be the earliest instance of this formula, which is standard in Oxyrhynchite declarations after 146; see G. M. Parássoglou, *BASP* 7 (1970) 96 n. 31. But cf. SB XXIV 16011.3-5 (Oxy., reign of Augustus?), which attests a slightly different formula: ἀπογράφομαι ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει ἐν [τ]ῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ μοι οἰκίᾳ.

12-14 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν μοι καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Θαῖδι οἰκίαν. This is an example of fragmentation of property between siblings, which primarily results from partible inheritance. The shares of the declared property are unspecified, reflecting a *communio pro indiviso*, that is, the legal designation of a portion of a physically undivided house; see E. Weiss, *APF* 4 (1908) 330-65, and R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup> 239-43. As in other first-century census returns, with the exception of P. Oxy. Hels. 10.5 (πατρικῇ οἰκίᾳ), there is no mention of the way in which the property devolved to its present owners, which is a common element of later returns. Despite the joint ownership, the two sisters do not file a joint declaration, which is not unusual; see Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 58. Contrast **4990**.

14 θησαυρὸν λεγομένην. Cf. SB XX 14166.15 (189) ἐπαυλ( ) κωμογραμματα( ) λεγομ( ). This house may have formerly been a public or private granary at Cercemunis (a public granary in this village is mentioned or implied in XLI **2959** 12, XLIV **3170** 35, 105, 149, P. Theon. 22.2-3, SB XIV 12079.8, XVIII 13131.12). Granaries are attested as parts of private houses, cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* (1983) 91-3, and in one case a family seems to have taken over as living quarters part of the granary of Karanis (E. M. Husselman, *TAPA* 83 (1952) 68-9).

16-17 οὐδὲ [καταγίνετα]. For the restoration, compare III **480** 5-6 (132) εἰς δ [ο]ὔδεις ἀπο-

γράφεται οὐδὲ καταγίνετα], and P. Harr. I 71.22 (188/9), as re-read in Korr. *Tyche* 590, forthcoming in *Tyche* 23 (2008). Declarations of uninhabited property usually have the formulas οὐδεις ἀπογράφεται or, less often, οὐδεις καταγίνετα (only XII **1547** 30 (119) and PSI VII 874.i.14 (132/3), both from Oxyrhynchus). (In P. Wisc. I 18.8, which appears to have the singular οὐδεις καταγί(κε)τ, the plate (vii) allows reading οὐδεις καταγί(νεται).)

R. HATZILAMBROU

#### 4984. REGISTRATION OF A LOAN

89A/50

6.7 × 4.8 cm

c.98-100

This and the following item are letters from unqualified officials to *agoranomi*, authorizing them to register certain transactions. Such documents are unique to Oxyrhynchus and are attested only within the last third of the first century AD. The function of the senders and the precise nature of the requested 'registration' are the subject of some debate. For a discussion of the issue, publication of further texts of this type that were only described in P. Oxy. II and III, and a complete list of the relevant papyri, see *ZPE* 170 (2009) 157-85.

**4984** is the top of a letter from Caecilius Clemens to the *agoranomus* authorizing the registration of a loan contract. Orders to register a loan (δανείου συγγραφή) rather than a sale are relatively rare among letters to *agoranomi*, paralleled only by II **241** (c.98/9) and **329** descr. (late first century). The loan in **241** is on the security of a share of a house (**329**, like **4984**, preserves only the top of the document); cf. also the orders to register a contract of mortgage (συγγραφή ὑπόθηκης) in II **243** (79) and VIII **1105** (81-96). All of these documents distinguish themselves from orders to register sales (such as **4985**) by the use of ἀναγράφειν instead of καταγράφειν as their main verb; for the significance of this distinction, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaer und des Prinzipats* ii (1978) 200-201.

Upper and left margins are preserved. The papyrus is complete on the right but with no free margin. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

Καικίλλιος Κλήμης τῷ  
 ἀγορανόμ(ω) χ(αίρειν). ἀνάγρα(ψον) δανείου  
 συγγρα(φήν) Διον(υκίου) Θέω(νος) τοῦ  
 Διον(υκίου) μητ(ρὸς) Πτολέμ(α)ς Θέω(νος)  
 5 τοῦ [...] [.]υ[.]α[.]... [

1 1. Καικίλλιος  
 4 διοῦμη πτολεθε

2 αγορανοχ<sup>α</sup>αναγραφ<sup>δ</sup>

3 συγγρ<sup>δ</sup>διοῦθε<sup>ω</sup>, 1. συγγραφήν



'Caecilius Clemens to the *agoranomus*, greetings. Register a contract of loan from Dionysius son of Theon son of Dionysius, mother Ptolema daughter of Theon son of . . .'

1 Caecilius Clemens is known as the sender of other letters to *agoranomi*: II 241 (date not preserved), 340 descr. (98/9), III 581 descr. (29 August 99), and II 338 descr. (99/100). 4984 must therefore date from around the years 98–100.

3–4 A Dionysius son of Theon grandson of Dionysius is attested in I 94 4 (83). He may be identical to the person here, but both 'Dionysius' and 'Theon' were exceedingly common names in first-century Oxyrhynchus, and the mother's name is not given in 94.

A. BENAÏSSA

## 4985. REGISTRATION OF A SALE

9 1B.172/A

11.7 × 8 cm

Late first century

A letter from Heraclides and Ammonius to the *agoranomus* authorizing the registration of a sale of house property.

The document is complete on all sides but the bottom. The writing, in a rapid cursive hand, runs along the fibres and the back is blank. A small loose fragment is not transcribed.

Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἀμμώνιος τῶι  
 ἀγορανόμωι χ(αίρειν). κατὰγραφον  
 ὄνην Διοκλεῖ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ  
 ἐπιβάλλοντος τῶι διατιθεμένωι  
 5 μέρους οἰκίας καὶ ἀλλῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς ταύτ(α)  
 εἰσόδου καὶ ἐξ[ό]δου καὶ τῶν συνκυρόντων  
 κοινῶν [καὶ ἀ]διαιρέτων πρὸς τοὺς ἐ-  
 αὐτοῦ . . . [ . . . ] . . . ερα καὶ το . . . [ . . . ] . ε  
 [ c.14 ] ἐγτώ . . . [ . . . ] .

2 χ̄] 3 υ of -μαιου corrected 5 ταυ<sup>τ</sup> 6 I. συνκυρόντων

'Heraclides and Ammonius to the *agoranomus*, greetings. Register a sale for Diocles son of Ptolemaeus of the share that falls to the one disposing of it, of a house and courtyard and the entrance and exit to these and the appurtenances, (being) common and indivisible with his . . . and . . .'

1 Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἀμμώνιος. This pair of officials does not recur in other letters to *agoranomi*.

3 Διοκλεῖ Πτολεμαίου. Not identifiable elsewhere.

7–8 πρὸς τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ . . . [ . . . ] . . . ερα. Presumably restore ἀδ[ελφούς] after ἐαυτοῦ. What follows, however, is unclear. The letter before ερα is obscured by a large blot of ink. The trace preceding this blot can hardly be η, so that καὶ τὴν μητέρα does not seem a commendable restoration (assuming the available space allows it). πατέρα may be just possible. One would not expect property to be

owned jointly by a father and his children, unless we suppose that the seller's mother was deceased and either had divided her house property between her husband and children in a will or had jointly owned the house with her husband before bequeathing her share to her children.

A. BENAÏSSA

## 4986–4988. CENSUS DECLARATIONS

48 5B.29/D(a)a

29 × 2.5 cm

A strip from a *tomos synkollesimos*, blank on the back except for the odd ink spot (no writing), with remains of four census declarations. Though found in Oxyrhynchus, the documents come from Antinoopolis, as suggested by the reference to a (former?) gymnasiarch of the city in one of them (4986 2) and the use of a particular formula in another (4988 4 n). That the roll was among the papers of an Oxyrhynchite who served as the nomarch of Antinoopolis (cf. XLIX 3477 introd.) is one possibility.

None of the declarations appears to have an addressee. 4986 preserves part of an official annotation added in the top margin (see 4986 1 n.); at least one line is lost from the upper part of 4987, and two from 4988. Of the more fragmentary fourth item in the roll (not printed below), we have the annotation in the upper margin and a few letter-tops from the first line. All this implies that the constituents of the composite roll were not aligned at the top, which is not uncommon; see 4993–4995 introd.

Besides adding to the meagre number of census declarations from Antinoopolis, these are the earliest such documents from this city to be published, and refer to what was probably the first census held there (see Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung* 80). Their fragmentary state is thus all the more to be regretted. The Antinoite declarations published previously are VIII 1110, PSI XII 1227 (both of 188), SB XXIV 16223 (201/2), *W. Chr.* 207 (216), and *P. Col.* X 269 (11/111). When verifiable, all these declarations were submitted in the course of the census year, and this is the case with 4988 too; see the discussion in Jördens, *op. cit.* 80–81. The 'current 9th year' in 4988 corresponds to 145/6; since no such document dates from earlier than February in the census year, it is probable that 4988 dates from the spring or summer of 146. I have assumed that the 9th year mentioned in 4987 is the 'current year', and I have posited the same date for 4986, though it lacks a chronological indication.

For other declarations for the census of 145/6, see LXXIII 4956–7 introd.

## 4986

48 5B.29/D(a)a col. i

146?

(m. 2) ] .. /  
 (m. 1) ] . [ . ] γυμν(ασιάρχ-) Αν[τ]ινόου, πόλ(εωα)  
 ] . . [ . ] τρου Παρέμεεωσ μη-  
 τρὸς ] μη. [ α.β ] ρμαι  
 5 ] . . . δ( ) [

2 γυμν<sup>ς</sup> πο<sup>λ</sup> 5 ] . . . δ

‘... (former?) gymnasiarch of Antinoopolis ... (son of) ... (grandson of) Pasensis, mother ...’

1 In the upper margin one sees the feet of two uprights followed by a blank space and a thick dash. The same kind of annotation occurs in the fourth item in the *tomos*: a large π, followed by blank space and dash. The traces in **4986** would admit π, but its meaning escapes me. At this point one would expect to find the number of this item number in the *tomos*, but if π = 80, the number in **4986** would have been οζ (= 77), which cannot be read. I would rule out that one has to read π(αρετέθη).

2 γυμν(ασιάρχου) or γυμν(ασιάρχίσαντος) Αντινόου, πόλ(εωα). I cannot explain what is written between Αντινόου and πόλ(εωα) (not an attempt to write Αντινοέων).

The gymnasiarchs were not among the addressees of census returns, so that it seems more likely that this is the declarer, in which case restore παρά at the beginning of the line. It is probably not relevant that the (ex-)gymnasiarch of Antinoopolis attested in XLIV **3198** 6-7 (146/7?) seems to have had Oxyrhynchite connections.

3 Παρέμεεωσ. If correctly read, the name is new. Alternatively, read Παρεμγέωσ (suggested by N. Litinas), but nu is not easy.

4 ]μη. [ α.β ] ρμαι. The sequence κώ]μησ [ἀπογράφ]ομαι suits space and trace but is difficult to defend, also because of the reading in the next line.

5 One could think of Μ]ατιδ(ίου), but alpha is not easy to read.

## 4987

48 5B.29/D(a)a col. ii

146

traces of one line

μητ(ρὸς) Χενανούπ(ιος) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Μενδ( ).  
 ἀπογράφο(μαι) κατὰ τὰ κελευθ(έντα) ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 κρατίστου ἡγεμόνο[ς Οὐα]λερίου  
 5 Πρόκλου εἰ[ς] τὴν τοῦ θ ἔτου[ς] Αν]τ[ω]νίνου

## 4987. CENSUS DECLARATION

101

2 μη<sup>τ</sup>χενανου<sup>ς</sup> κωμ<sup>ω</sup>μεν<sup>δ</sup> 3 απογραφ<sup>ο</sup> κελευ<sup>θ</sup>

‘... mother Chenanupis, one of those from the village of Mend—. In accordance with the orders of the prefect Valerius Proculus, *vir egregius*, I register for the (house-by-house registration) of the 9th year of Antoninus ...’

2 Χενανούπ(ιος). A rare name, otherwise attested only in three documents: P. Hamb. I 60.4, 12 (Herm.; 90) Χενανούπιος; P. Yale I 78.1, 12 (Ars.; ii) Χενανούβι (l. -ει); P. Princ. III 189.2, 16, 21 (?; 1/ii) Χενανουβ( ).

κώμης Μένδ(ητος)? The Arsinoite village of Mendes in the division of Heraclides comes to mind. It would be no surprise if one of the early citizens of Antinoopolis were a settler from an Arsinoite village, but it is remarkable that there is no reference to a nome.

4-5 Οὐα]λερίου Πρόκλου. See LXXIII **4956** 9-10 n.; Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung* 532.

## 4988

48 5B.29/D(a)a col. iii

146

traces of one line

ἀπογράφο(μαι) κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευθέντα) ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου  
 ἡγεμόνος Οὐαλερίου Πρόκλου  
 4 εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστ(όσ) θ (ἔτος)

2 απογραφῶ κε<sup>λ</sup> 4 ενεστ<sup>ος</sup>

‘In accordance with the orders of the prefect Valerius Proculus, *vir egregius*, I register for the (house-by-house registration) for the current 9th year ...’

4 εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστ(όσ) θ (ἔτος). Cf. VIII **1110** 7, PSI XII 1227.8-9, W. *Chr.* 207.7, and SB XXIV 16223.5 (mostly restored).

N. GONIS

## 4989. CENSUS DECLARATION

36 4B.92/H(12-13)b

7 × 19.5+ cm

25 February - 26 March 175

Two disjointed fragments comprising the upper and lower parts of a census declaration submitted by a woman, who registers a part of a house in Oxyrhynchus that belongs to her and in which her children, and presumably she too, live. The children are *apatores*. Down to the end of fr. 1, the list contains only men's names, which conforms to the standard pattern of Oxyrhynchite declarations (men are listed first, and then women). Fr. 2 preserves the end of an entry for a person whose

gender, age, or status cannot be ascertained, and then the oath and date clause. The amount of text lost between the two fragments is unknown; its possible contents are discussed below, 23–4 n. There is no reference to an addressee and no docket on the back (blank), which may suggest that this is a copy, though this is not necessary; see Kruse, *Königliche Schreiber* i 113–14.

This is the first Oxyrhynchite declaration for the census of 173/4 to be published. The evidence from other regions is much more plentiful; see Bagnall–Frier *Demography* 248–64, 318–19.

παρὰ Διδύμης Πλουτάρχου  
 τοῦ Ζωσίμου μητρὸς Ἀσκληταρίου(ν)  
 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ(ν) Πλουτίωνο(ς)  
 ἐξ αὐτῆ(ς) χρηματίζοντος ἀμφοτε(έρων) ἀπ' Ὁξυ(ρύγχων) πόλ(εως).  
 5 κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευθέντα) ὑπὸ Καλουκίου  
 Στατιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρο(άτου) ἡγεμόν(ος)  
 ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τ(ήν) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ιδ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφήν) τὸ ὑπ(άρχον) μοι ἐπ' ἀμ-  
 10 φόδου Ἐρμαίου(ν) μέρο(ς) οἰκ(ίας) εἰς ὃ  
 ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα) Πλουτίων χρημα(τίζων)  
 μητρὸ(ς) Διδύμη(ς) ἄτ(εχνος) ἄσημ(ος) (ἔτων) λς'  
 Ἀνδρόμαχος ἀδελ(φὸς) μητρὸ(ς) τῆς α(ὐτῆς)  
 ἄτ(εχνος) ἄσημ(ος) (ἔτων) λδ'  
 15 Ἀρμίσις ἔτ(ερος) μη[τ](ρὸς) τῆς α(ὐτῆς) ἄτ(εχνος) ἄσημ(ος) (ἔτων) η  
 πρ(ος)γί(νεται) Ἐπι[.] ος [Πλ]ουτίωνος  
 χρη[μα(τίζοντος) μητρὸς Διδύμης, μητρὸς]  
 c.8 ] ἀδελ(φῆς) τοῦ πα(τρὸς) (ἔτων) α  
 ]...προ.( ) β...λ( )  
 20 ]....  
 ..[  
 ..[  
 ..[  
 α[ ].. ἀμφοτε(ερ )  
 ].. ὡς (ἔτων) ι'  
 25 κ[αὶ ὁμν]ύ(ω) τῆν Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀ[ν]τωνί[νου] Καίσαρος τοῦ

κυρίο[ν] τύχην μὴ ἐψεῦσθ(αι).  
 (ἔτους) ἐξ Αὐτ[οκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου  
 30 Σεβ[αστοῦ] Ἀ[ρ]μενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Γε[ρμανικοῦ Μεγίστου], Φαμενωθ.

2	μη <sup>τ</sup> ασκληταρι <sup>ο</sup>	3	κ <sup>-</sup> υἱ <sup>ο</sup> πλουτιων <sup>ο</sup>	4	αυ <sup>τ</sup> χρημαμφο <sup>τ</sup>	οξ <sup>υ</sup> πο <sup>λ</sup>	5	κε <sup>λ</sup>	
6	λαμπρο <sup>τ</sup> ηγμο <sup>ν</sup>	7	απογρ <sup>σ</sup> προς <sup>τ</sup>	διε <sup>λ</sup> ιδ <sup>σ</sup> αυρ—	9	οι <sup>α</sup> απογρ <sup>σ</sup>	υ <sup>τ</sup>	10	ερμαι <sup>ο</sup> μερ <sup>ο</sup> οι <sup>κ</sup>
11	απογρ <sup>σ</sup>	χρημ <sup>-</sup>	12	μητρ <sup>ο</sup> διδυμ <sup>η</sup> α <sup>τ</sup> αση <sup>λ</sup> λς'	13	αδε <sup>λ</sup> μη <sup>τ</sup>	α	14	αταση <sup>λ</sup> λδ
15	ε <sup>μ</sup> μη <sup>τ</sup>	α <sup>α</sup> α <sup>σ</sup> [	16	π <sup>π</sup> γ <sup>ι</sup>	17	μη <sup>τ</sup>	18	αδε <sup>λ</sup>	π <sup>τ</sup> α <sup>λ</sup>
25	ομν <sup>υ</sup> ?	27	εψευσθ	28	λε	23	αμφο <sup>τ</sup>	24	λε

'From Didyme, daughter of Plutarchus son of Zosimus, her mother being Asclatarion, with her guardian, her son Ploution, officially described as her son, both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders of the prefect Calusius Statianus, *vir clarissimus*, I register for the house-by-house registration of the past fourteenth year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, the part of a house that I own in the district of the Hermaion, in which we are registered:

'Ploution, officially described as son of Didyme, of no trade, with no distinguishing marks, aged 36.

'Andromachus, his brother, of the same mother, of no trade, with no distinguishing marks, aged 34.

'Harmiysis, another (brother), of the same mother, of no trade, with no distinguishing marks, aged *n*.

'An addition (to the declaration) is Epi—us son of Ploution, officially described as son of Didyme, his mother being [name], sister of his father, aged 1(?).

...  
 ... both ... aged about 10.

'And I swear by the fortune of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord not to have lied.

'Year 15 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Maximus, Phamenoth.'

4 ἐξ αὐτῆ(ς) χρημα(τίζοντος). On this expression, typical of Oxyrhynchite documents (the term *ἀπάτωρ* is used elsewhere), see M. Malouta in *Pap. Congr. XXIV* (2007) 615 ff.

5–6 ὑπὸ Καλουκίου Στατιανοῦ. See G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 298, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 83, and *ANRW* 10.1 (1988) 510; add LV 3782 (172/3) and the undated SB XX 14683 (= SPP XXII 97) and P. Bodl. 61(f), and remove P. Berl. Leihg. II 28 (see Kruse, *Königliche Schreiber* ii 756 n. 5) and P. Thmouis I 1 80.16, redated to 180–92 [HGV].

C. Calusius Statianus is first attested in office on 24 February 170 (SB V 7528), and was still a prefect in the earlier part of 175. Besides XII 1451, which attests him in office in the month of Phamenoth, and perhaps also later, we have P. Amst. 27, in which Statianus announces the accession of C. Auidius Cassius, and which no doubt dates from April. The first securely dated document to mention Calusius' successor, C. Caecilius Saluianus, is BGU I 327 of 1 April 176. BGU III 847 = W. *Chk* 460.13–14 (182/3), ὑπὸ Καλουκίου Στατιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμο<sup>ν</sup>νεύσαντος, is the last document that refers to Calusius Statianus.

λαμπρο(άτου) ἡγεμό(νος). Calusius Statianus was still in office at the time when this document

was written (see previous note), hence the expansion of the abbreviations adopted (see Bastianini, *ANRW* 10.1 (1988) 584 n. 7).

9–10 ἀμφόδου Ἐρμαίου(ν). This quarter took its name from the nearby temple of Hermes. They were both in the vicinity of the Serapeum, and the quarter's western border coincided with the city walls. See J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 83; S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 215–16.

10 μέρο(ς) οὐκ(ίαις). The part owned by the declarant of the rest of the house is not revealed, and no description is made thereof; in general this is unusual, and in Oxyrhynchus in particular it is so far unprecedented.

12 ἄτ(εχνος). With the dubious exception of P. Oslo III 97 and P. Strasb. VI 530 = C. Pap. Gr. II.1 42.13 and 57.9 (the readings are doubtful), the term is characteristic of Oxyrhynchite documents. Hombert–Préaux, *Recherches* 120, have argued that the term refers to an occupation rather than a fiscal status, though this indication certainly had a fiscal purpose. Bagnall–Frier associate the Oxyrhynchite ἄτ(εχνος) with the Arsinoite ἰδιώται and the ἀρργοί of Memphis, people who did not do any manual labour but lived from their landed revenues or other accumulated wealth (*Demography* 24, 46). However, it is not easy to apply this explanation to the slaves described as such (see 4998 12 n.; cf. C. Pap. Gr. II.1 15.9 n.), nor to the five- and three-year-old girls in PSI I 53.i.16 and iv.54 (132), whose lack of profession would not need special mention.

15 ἔτ(ερος), sc. ἀδελφός. Cf. P. Oxy. Hels. 10.10 (34), P. Col. II 1a.v.2 (after 134/5 [HGV]), etc.

16 πρ(ο)γιί(νεται). For a description of this abbreviation, π arching over ρ, see XL 2915 20 n. Besides 4989, the verb occurs in one other census declaration, LXXIII 4957 16, 18 (147). Its meaning in this context may be deduced from PSI XII 1240 a.9 and b.8 (Oxy.; 222), a petition for change of status: the petitioner says that he no longer has the status under which he was declared in previous census declarations, and quotes parts of the original documents. At the time of the first of them, he was five years old, and was declared by his father as a πρωταπόγραφος, i.e., one being registered for the first time. The verb used in the declaration is πρ(ο)γιί(νεται). Therefore, it would appear that the verb in question is used to introduce πρωταπόγραφοι to a declaration that in other respects remains the same in consecutive cycles.

Ἐπι. [. ] oc. Ἐπίμ[α]χος, a name common in Oxyrhynchus, is likely.

17 μητρ(ός). This cannot refer to Didyme, because in the formula χρηματίζων μητρός, μητρός comes before the name. This suggests that the damaged name in 16 is that of a son of Ploution, followed by the formula μητρός + name.

18 ] ἀδελ(φῆς) τοῦ πατ(ρός). The collocation μητρός name ἀδελφῆς (τοῦ) πατρός is fairly common; cf. PSI VIII 875.6 (1/11), BGU II 562 = W. Chr. 220.21 (after 117), P. Ryl. II 103.8 (134), SB XVIII 13369.9–10 (188/9), BGU II 406.iii.1 (11/11), XLIII 3096 12, 16 (223/4), etc. Here this would mean that the mother of the child is the sister of the father, i.e., of Didyme's own child. However, the type of the abbreviation poses a problem: the scribe wrote πα and added a curved stroke over π. This way of abbreviating a form of the word πατήρ seems to be unattested.

(ἐτῶν) α. One may also wish to read β.

19 ] . . . πρ(ο) ( ) β. . λ ( ). The letter after πρ(ο), raised above the line, is ρ or τ, suggesting προ(ε)γραμμέν- ( ) or πρότ(ερον); the former is more likely (the latter refers to previous ownership of property). In this case, we expect a name to follow, but the remains do not obviously suggest one. Another possibility is name + relation ] τῆς προ(ε)γραμμένης; cf. PSI I 53.i.9. At the end of the line, perhaps read βεβλ(αμμέν- ), a participle used for persons with visual impairment; cf. e.g. P. Flor. I 1 = M. Chr. 243.2 (153) βεβλ(αμμένου) τὸ(ν) ἀρις(τερὸν) ὀφθ(αλμὸν), XLI 2993 12 (323) βεβλ(αμμένου) τὰς ὀψεις (most other examples are Ptolemaic).

23–4 ] . ἀμφοτ(ερ) ] [ ] . ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἰ'. The number of lines and entries lost between these lines and line 20 is a matter for speculation. One would expect Didyme to be the first of the women to be declared, being the most senior as well as the declarant. If 16–18 have been read and interpreted cor-

rectly, then Ploution's son, being one year old, is probably the last male member of the family to be declared. If so, the entry for Didyme must have followed directly underneath, followed by Ploution's wife at some point. If this is correct, the persons mentioned in 23 would be female members of the family or slaves (of either sex), if any were present in this household. Alternatively the word ἀμφοτ(ερ) might refer back to the parents, Ploution and his wife, rather than the person concerned in this entry, or possibly one of the other brothers, about whose marital status there is no information.

The likeliest interpretation is that the combination of ἀμφοτ(ερ) and ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἰ' in the next line is a reference to 'twins': Bagnall and Frier observe that instances of siblings recorded as having the same age occur too often to be credible (and more notably, in PSI I 53.i there is a case of 'twin' half-siblings; cf. BL X 235). Such references to siblings of the same age are the result of a rough rounding of ages, rather than an unusually high number of real twins (*Demography* 43–4; W. Scheidel, *BASP* 33 (1996) 48–9).

24 ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἰ'. Contrast 12, 14, 18, where the ages are not rounded off. On the reporting of ages in census returns, see Scheidel, *BASP* 33 (1996) 25–59.

25–7 κ[αὶ ὀμν]ύ(ω) . . . μὴ ἐψεῦσθ(αι). This short oath formula with μὴ ἐψεῦσθ(αι) is characteristic of Oxyrhynchus.

28–31 The readings and restorations of the imperial titles assume that they were written in *Verschleifung* rather than that they were abbreviated.

M. MALOUTA

#### 4990. CENSUS DECLARATION

69/54(a)

11.5 × 12.8 cm

188/9

This is the seventh Oxyrhynchite declaration for the census of 187/8 to be published, after XXXVI 2762, 2800, LVIII 3918, P. Harr. I 71, (P. Princ. III 129 =) SB XX 14310 i–ii. All were filed during the year after the year of the census. For a full list of declarations for this census, see Bagnall–Frier *Demography* 264–82, 319.

What is preserved follows the standard pattern of such documents from Oxyrhynchus. The declaration, addressed to the strategus and royal scribe (cf. I 171 descr. = SB XXII 15353), is submitted by two men who jointly own a share of a small house in the city. The papyrus breaks off at the beginning of the listing of persons. Above the main text a second hand wrote the verb ἐνε(τάγη), a novelty in texts of this type; see below, 1 n.

The back is blank.

(m.2) ἐνε(τάγη)[  
 (m.1) Ἡράμμωνι τῷ κα[ὶ] Κάστορι στρατηγῷ καὶ Σαραπανού-  
 βιδι βασιλι[κῷ] γραμματεῖ  
 παρὰ Πετσαρ. [  
 5 Διοδώρου μητρ[ός]  
 θέσει Διογένους ἐπικαλουμ[ένου] c.4 καὶ c.4  
 γένους τοῦ κ(αὶ) Διον(υκίου?) Ἐρμογέν[ου] c.4 μητρ[ός]

Ἀρτέμειτος ἀμφοτ(έρων) [ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγ(χων) πόλ(εως). κατὰ  
τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπ[ὸ Τινηίου Δημητρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου]  
10 ἡγε(μόνος) καὶ Αὐρηλίου Οὐρηριαν[οῦ] τοῦ [ἡγεμονεύς(αντος)  
ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα) πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διελ(θόντος) κη (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου[ν Κομμόδου  
Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπο(γραφήν)  
τὸ ὑπάρχον ἡμῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Δρ[όμου]  
Θοήριδος πρότ(ερον) Ἐπιτέλους Ἐπιτέλους [τοῦ Ἐπι-  
15 τέλους μητρ(ός) Θαΐδος ἀπὸ τῆς (αὐτῆς) πόλ(εως) κληρο[νομι-  
κῶ δικαίω ἀκολουθ(ως) ἢ ἔθετο διαθ(ήκη) τῆ καὶ λυθ[εί-  
ση οἰκείδιον [ ] . . . . μέρος ἐφ' οὗ ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα  
αὐτὸς [ἐ]γὼ [Πετεαρ. . . . .] [.] . . . .]

1 εν<sup>ε</sup> 7 του<sup>κ</sup> Διοῦ 8 Ἰ. Ἀρτέμειτος ἀμφο<sup>τ</sup> 10 ηγε<sup>τ</sup> 11 ἀπογρ<sup>ς</sup> διε<sup>λ</sup> κη<sup>ς</sup>  
13 ὑπαρχον ἀμφο<sup>δ</sup> 1. ἡμῶν 14 προ<sup>τ</sup> 15 μη<sup>τ</sup> θαΐδος ἀπο<sup>λ</sup> 16 ἀκολου<sup>θ</sup>  
δια<sup>θ</sup> 17 Ἰ. οἰκείδιον 18 . . . .

(2nd hand) 'It has been enrolled (or: attached).'

(1st hand) 'To Hirammon alias Castor, strategus, and Sarapanubis, royal scribe, from Petear—  
son of . . . , grandson of Diodorus, mother . . . , adopted son of Diogenes surnamed . . . , and from  
—genes alias Dionysius(?) son of Hermogenes, grandson of . . . , mother Artemis, both from the  
city of the Oxyrhynchi. According to the orders of the prefect Tineius Demetrius, *vir clarissimus*, and  
Aurelius Verianus, the ex-prefect, we register for the house by house registration of the past 28th year  
of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, a . . . part of a small house, formerly belonging  
to Epiteles son of Epiteles, grandson of Epiteles, mother Thais, from the same city, in the quarter of  
the Avenue of Thoeris, belonging to us in equal shares by right of inheritance in accordance with the  
testament that was opened, in which we register ourselves:

'I, myself, Petear— . . .'

1 ἐνε(τάγη). The verb is part of archival annotations in XL 2892 i 31 = ii 31 (269) ἐνετάγη β<sub>4</sub>  
(ἔτους) Φαῶφι; the same verb form but in a different context occurs XL 2906 ii 23 (270/71?) and  
2936 ii 9, 12, 15, 18, 21 (271/2). There are similar annotations in a very few census declarations, but  
other terms are used: ἐλ(ήφθη) ι (ἔτους), μη(νός) Καίσαρείου α in SB XII 10788c.45; παρε(τέθη) in XII  
1547 4 (119); ἐγδ(όσιμον) in XII 1548 i (202/3). For other verbs used at the end of such documents,  
see L. Capponi, *ZPE* 140 (2002) 179 (notes to ll. 18 and 19).

If something was written in the lost part of the line, this could have been the date in which the  
census was filed.

2 Ἡράμμωνι τῶ κα[ὶ] Κάστορι στρατηγῶ. See Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*<sup>2</sup> 100.

2–3 Σαραπανοῦ|βιδι βασιλι[κῶ] γραμματεῖ. See Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*<sup>2</sup> 164.

4 Πετεαρ. [ . Names beginning Πετεαρ- are not common in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and so it  
is a pity that too little remains of the letter on the edge to allow a reading.

4–6 There are two possible reconstructions of this sequence of names: Πετεαρ. [— name of  
*father* τοῦ] Διοδώρου μητρ[ός name (υἱοῦ)] θέσει Διογένους κτλ. (adopted in the translation above); or  
Πετεαρ. [— ὁ καὶ name] Διοδώρου μητρ[ός κτλ.

6 θέσει. On adoption, see Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup> 133–4 with n. 12; Berger, *EDRL* 350 s.v. Adoptio.  
θέσει occurs in papyri from the first to the third century, mostly in documents from Oxyrhynchus. It is

added to the name of a person either before or after the name of the mother; the following construc-  
tions are attested: ὁ δεῖνα + name of father + name of grandfather (with τοῦ) + μητρ(ός) δεῖνος + θέσει δεῖνος  
(VII 1123 2, SB XIV 11337.1–2, SB XX 14395.8–11, P. Mich. XVIII 789.5–6); ὁ δεῖνα + name of father  
(with τοῦ) + θέσει δεῖνος + μητρ(ός) δεῖνος (P. Wash. Univ. I 2.2–3); ὁ δεῖνα + name of father (+ name of  
grandfather with τοῦ) + θέσει δεῖνος (P. Mert. I 18.17–18; PSI VII 732.1–3, I 46 5–7; III 502 6–7; XIV  
1719 4–5; LXVI 4531 3–4); ὁ δεῖνα θέσει δεῖνος (XXXI 2583 2).

ἐπικαλοῦμι[ένου] refers to Petear—, not to Diogenes, since the usual formula is ὁ δεῖνα + name  
of father + ἐπικαλούμενος δεῖνα; see R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 254–5; P. Petaus pp. 54–63; D.  
Hobson, *BASP* 26 (1989) 168–71.

7 —γένους τοῦ κ(αὶ) Διο(υκίου?) Ἐρμιογέν[ος τοῦ c.4 μητρ(ός)]. At the beginning, read  
Διο[υ]γένους, Ἐρμιο[υ]γένους, etc. The name of the grandfather would have been c.4 letters long; it is of  
course possible that this was not written, but without it the line would be short.

8 Ἀρτέμειτος. The name Ἀρτεμεις is attested between the second and the early fourth centu-  
ries; see O. Masson, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 126–30.

8–9 κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα. After this phrase the name of the prefect almost always follows  
except for some documents from the Arsinoite nome. The edicts of the prefects contained the order  
for the census return, and described the procedures involved; when they were issued is uncertain. See  
most recently Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung* 68–9, 81–6.

9–10 For references to the prefects Tineius Demetrius and his predecessor Aurelius Verianus in  
census declarations, see Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung* 532–3.

11 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διελ(θόντος) κη (ἔτους). The time limit for the implementation of the census  
edict was the last day of the year following the census year (no declaration dates from the year after  
that); cf. Kruse, *Königliche Schreiber* 67.

13 ἐξ ἴσου. For declarations of property held jointly, see Hombert–Préaux, *Recherches* 57–9; also  
above, 4983 12–14 n. A declaration is very rarely submitted by all the owners, who in most cases are  
relatives; for examples of more than one owner, see Hombert–Préaux, *Recherches* 58 n. 1.

13–14 ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Δρ[όμου] Θοήριδος. For this *amphodon*, see S. Daris, *Dizionario* Suppl. iv 98.

14–15 πρότ(ερον) Ἐπιτέλους Ἐπιτέλους [τοῦ Ἐπι]τέλους. The name Ἐπιτέλης is rare in the  
papyri; it is attested in other parts of the Greek world, mostly in the Classical and Hellenistic periods;  
see the various volumes of *LGPN*, under the name. It is remarkable that three generations had the  
same name, though this practice was not unusual (see Hobson, loc. cit. 167).

15–16 κλη[ο]νομικῶ δικαίω. For this phrase, attested only in Oxyrhynchite documents, see S.  
Daris, *ZPE* 85 (1991) 272.

16 ἀκολουθ(ως) ἢ ἔθετο διαθ(ήκη). This collocation with minor variations also occurs in BGU  
VII 1662.7 (182), P. Heid. IV 301.2 (192), P. Oslo II 24.13 (131?), CPR I 102.10–11 (1/11); cf. also P. Freib.  
II 8.10 (143), and XIV 1648 53 (11). The phrase τίθεμαι διαθήκην was used in the second century. From  
then onwards other phrases were in use such as ἀκολουθ(ως) ἢ παρέθετο διαθήκη (SB XVI 12950.18;  
XIV 1725 21), ἀκολουθ(ως) ἢ ἀπολέλοιπεν διαθήκη (IX 1208 11), or ἀκολουθ(ως) τῆ διαθήκη (PSI VIII  
940.24; X 1101.10; LIV 3756 11; SPP XX 5.12).

16–17 διαθ(ήκη) τῆ καὶ λυθ[εί]ση. See N. Litinas, *ZPE* 117 (1997) 210 no. 5.

17 οἰκείδιον [ ] . . . . μέρος. For the term οἰκείδιον, see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 207–9. The itacistic  
spelling is common; cf. XII 1538 2, 8, XIX 2236 12, 24, L 3560 26.

We have not been able to read what comes between οἰκείδιον and μέρος. Only some letter-  
tops survive, while something may have been added above the line. One expects to find an adjective  
qualifying οἰκείδιον or a numeral modifying μέρος, but the construction is in any case unusual: when  
a part of a property is declared, we have μέρος + genitive(s). The late P. J. Sijpesteijn tentatively sug-  
gested [κα]τὰ δ' μέρος, which would give good sense but is unparalleled. It is also unclear whether τὸ  
ὑπάρχον in line 13 refers to οἰκείδιον or to μέρος.

18 αὐτὸς [ἐ]γὼ [. The standard formula for introducing the first name in Oxyrhynchite second- and third-century census declarations is (ὁ) αὐτὸς ἐγὼ; see Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 113. But contrast **4989** 11.

N. LITINAS

## 4991. CENSUS DECLARATION

20 3B.36/H(1-5)b

3.9 × 9.5 cm

216/17

The upper part of a declaration for the census of 215/16, submitted some time after the year of the census. It is addressed to the *laographoi* of the district of Metroon in Oxyrhynchus; the docket on the back may suggest that the document was filed in their archives. Aurelius Polycarpus, the declarant, is a dependant (*ἴδιος*) of Marcus Aurelius Achilleus alias Isidorus, an eminent Oxyrhynchite (see 4-6 n.). The text breaks off at the point where the property registered was described. This probably belonged to Achilleus, as the docket implies (see 22 n.). Compare BGU VII 1580 (147), where a slave registers vacant property belonging to his mistresses, or BGU I 57.ii (160/61?) (re-ed. *ZPE* 163 (2007) 150-52), XIII 2223 (175), and P. Mich. VI 370 (189), in which *phrontistai* of various women likewise declare vacant properties.

Besides **4991**, the other Oxyrhynchite declarations for this census are XLVII **3347** and SB XXVI 16671-74; for declarations from other regions, see Bagnall-Frier, *Demography* 291-9, 320-21 (note that P. Bakchias 137 = SB XXVI 16538).

λαογρ(άφοις) Μητρώου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου  
 Πολυκάρπ[ο]υ ἴδιου  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλ[ί]ου  
 5 Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδώ(ρου)  
 καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζει). κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευθέντα)  
 ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Δάτου  
 τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ἡγε(μόνος) καὶ Αὐ-  
 ρηλίου Ἀντινόου  
 10 τοῦ κρ(ατίστου) διαδεξα(μένου) τὴν  
 ἡγε(μονίαν) ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τὴν  
 τοῦ δι[ε]λ[θ]όντος [κ]δ̄ [(ἔτους)] Μάρκου  
 Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου  
 Ἀντ[ωνίνου] Ε̄[ύ]ξ[ε]β[ο]ύξ  
 15 [Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ κατ' οἰκίαν  
 ἀπ[ο]γραφήν τὴν ὑπάρχου-

κα[ν]  
 αυ[  
 κε[.  
 20 κυρι[.  
 α, τ[.  
 . . .

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m.2) //Μητρώου (vac.) Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἀχιλλ(έως) . . . . . [

1 λαογρς 5 ιϰδ̄ 6 χρῆ κέ 8 λαμσηγε 10 κρσδιαδεξ̄α  
 11 ηγεαποργρ 22 αυρηαχιλλ'

'To the registrars of Metroon from Aurelius Polycarpus, dependant of Marcus Aurelius Achilleus alias Isidorus and however he is styled. In accordance with the orders given by the prefect Valerius Datus, *vir clarissimus*, and by Aurelius Antinous, *vir egregius*, the former acting prefect, I register for the house-by-house registration of the past 24th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, the (house?) belonging to . . .'

Back: (and hand) '(District) of Metroon; of Aurelius Achilleus . . .'

1 λαογρ(άφοις). For the resolution in the plural, see A. Papatthomas, *APF* 42 (1996) 203-4, but contrast L. Capponi, *ZPE* 140 (2002) 179. The addressing of Oxyrhynchite declarations solely to *laographoi* is a third-century feature; this is the earliest among them.

*Μητρώου*. For this Oxyrhynchite quarter, named after the temple of Cybele located there, see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 84; S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 218.

2-3 Αὐρηλίου Πολυκάρπ[ο]υ ἴδιου. On the use of the term *ἴδιος* in the sense of 'dependant, agent, employee', see H. Cuvigny, *BIFAO* 102 (2002) 148-9. The absence of Polycarpus' patronymic and *σῖγο* may point to his dependent status, but the presence of the *gentilicium* Aurelius implies that he was not a slave, as *ἴδιοι* often were; see H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des Griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (1956) 104, and L **3597** 15 n. Perhaps Polycarpus was Achilleus' freedman. Cf. XIV **1711** 4-5 (late III), which attests another *ἴδιος* of a prominent person.

4-6 Μάρκου Αὐρηλ[ί]ου Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδώ(ρου) καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζει). Assuming that the alias is correctly resolved (*Ἰσιδω(ρίωνος)* or *Ἰσιδω(ριανού)* are much less likely alternatives), he may be identified with Achilleus alias Isidorus in VI **908** = W. *Chr.* 426.15-16 (199), described as *ex-exegetes*, gymnasiarch and eutheniarch, perhaps the same person as Aurelius Achilleus alias Isidorus in VII **1046** 10 (218/19); see P. Hamb. IV p. 228 with n. 46 (no. 74). The phrase καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζει) is an implicit reference to his titles, those mentioned in **908** and perhaps others too.

7-11 On Valerius Datus and Aurelius Antinous in census declarations, see Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung* 84-6, 533.

16-18 τὴν ὑπάρχου]cá[ν μοι οἰκίαν is what we would expect if this were Polycarpus' own house, with αυ[λὴν following in 18. But if the house belonged to his employer (see introd.), the text may have run τὴν ὑπάρχου]cá[ν τῷ προγεγρ(αμμένω) Μάρκω] Αὐ[ρηλίω] Ἀχιλλεῖ κτλ.

19 κε[. The damaged letter may be tau; it is not iota.

20 κυρι[. It is difficult to account for a form of κύριος or κυριεύειν in this part of the declaration.

21 α, τ[. Perhaps ἀπότ[ε, which recalls phrases such as ἀπογράφομαι αὐτὸς ἐγώ.

22 Μητρῶου (vac.) Αὐρηλίου Ἀχιλλέως . . . . [The unread part of the line does not seem to refer to Polycarpus. The prominence given to Achilleus suggests that the property declared was his. Compare the docket of P. Col. X 262 (Oxy., 160), the only parallel among documents of this type: ἀπογραφ(αφή) Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Ἀμόβ(τος) καὶ τῶν τέκ(νων).

R. HATZILAMBROU

## 4992. NOTIFICATION OF DEATH

26 3B.49/H(1-4)a

6 × 20.8 cm

223/4

A father gives notice of the death of his son, which took place in the very year when the son turned fourteen years old and thus became of fiscal age (and in this case, one may think, eligible for admission to the metropolitan or gymnasial classes). A curious feature is that the date clause contains no reference to month and day. There is no addressee, but the declarant's subscription, in the gawky capitals of the 'slow writer', indicates that this is not a copy. On this type of document, see **4996-8** introd.

The back is blank.

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Καράτος Βησά-  
τος μη(τρὸς) Ζωϊλοῦτ[ος] ἀπ' Ὀξυ(ρύγχων)  
πόλεως. ὁ υἱός μου  
Β[η]σάτ[ος] μη(τρὸς) Κιντοτοῦ[τος] ἐπ(ικαλουμένης) Εὐ-  
5 δα[ι]μονίδος προσβάς εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς)  
τῷ ἐνε(στῶτι) γ (ἔτει) ἐτελεύτησεν  
τῷ α(ὐτῷ) γ (ἔτει). διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι  
τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἀξιών ἀναγραφ(αφήναι)  
α[ὐ]τὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν τετελ(ευτηκότων)  
10 τ[ἀξ]ίῃ ὡς καθήκει καὶ ὀμνύω  
τὴν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
Κεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος  
τοῦ κυρίου τύχην μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι.  
(ἔτους) γ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
15 Αὐρηλίου Κεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
Εὐ[ε]βου[ς] Εὐ[ε]τυχο[ς] Κεβαστοῦ.  
(m.2) Αὐ[ρ]ήλιος Καράτος Βησάτος  
ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὀμώμεκα  
τὸ[ν] ὄρχον.

2, 4 μη 2 οξ<sup>ν</sup> 4 εγ 5 ιδθ 6 ἐνε(στ) 7 αγ 8 ἀναγραφ  
9 τετελ 14 L 18 I. δμώμοκα 19 I. ὄρχον

'From Aurelius Saras son of Besas, mother Zoilous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. My son Besas, mother Sintotoes called Eudaemonis, having advanced into (the category of) the fourteen-year-olds in the current 3rd year, died in the same 3rd year. For this reason I submit this application, requesting that he be registered in the list of the dead as is fitting, and I swear by the fortune of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord not to have lied. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Saras son of Besas, have submitted (the application) and sworn the oath.'

1 For the absence of the addressee, not common in texts of this type, see LXV **4479** 1 n.2 Ζωϊλοῦτ[ος]. This name has occurred in two other papyri from Oxyrhynchus, viz. I **91** 4 (187) and PSI III 164.6 (287).4 ἐπ(ικαλουμένης). See **4990** 6 and n.5 προσβάς εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς). This expression has not occurred in any other such text; it is mostly found in the context of the *epikrisis* procedure (e.g. VII **1028** 11-12 or IX **1202** 18-19). The age of the deceased is specified only in a very few texts, and then it mostly refers to children under the age of fourteen; cf. C. Pap. Gr. II.1 p. 14.7-8 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι . . . ἀξιών. See **4479** 8ff. n.18-19 On this phrase, see **4479** 25-6 n.

N. GONIS

## 4993-4995. REGISTRATIONS OF CHILDREN

14 1B.203/K(1)a

24 × 15 cm

A part of a *tomos synkollesimos* with portions of four *kollemata*. Its inventory number is adjacent to **4996-4998**, from a *tomos* of notices of death, which date from the same period. **4994** and **4998** are addressed to the phylarch of Oxyrhynchus, and there is no reason to doubt that the other items were addressed to the same official. It seems likely that there were two distinct rolls originally kept in the same office and discarded at the same time rather than that they all belonged to the same composite roll. On the issue of such rolls in general, see W. Clarysse, 'Tomoi Synkollesimoi', in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions* (2003) 344-59; for a list, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/tomos.xls>.

The two items that are better preserved (**4994-5**) request the registration of two boys aged two and thirteen years respectively. Both boys belong to the privileged class of *dodekadrachmoi*, and one of them was born into a family who are members of the gymnasium (cf. also **4993**). The aim of these documents seems to have been to register children in their parents' status, which was usually a privileged one. The discussion offered by P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus* (1958) 49-65, remains fundamental. There are some forty published documents this type, most of which come from Oxyrhynchus. A list is given by N. Cohen in R. Katzoff et al. (edd.), *Classical Studies in Honor of David Sohlberg* (1996) 391-2 (reproduced in P. Berl. Cohen 12 introd.), supplemented by

A. Jördens, P. Bingen 105 introd., who also offers an overview of earlier views with further reflections on the issue. Cf. also Kruse, *Königliche Schreiber* i 143 n. 256. Other such texts published more recently are P. Gen. inv. 341 (ed. *ZPE* 141 (2002) 155–7), and SB XXVI 16803. See also **4999**.

Of the first *kollema*, only the ends of lines are preserved, and only a few preserve more than three or four letters, while of the last *kollema* (not transcribed below) no more than ten not consecutive lines survive, which mostly contain one or two letters. Parts are missing from the top and foot of the first, third, and fourth *kollemata*. Since the second *kollema* is the only one preserved at full height, no conclusions can be drawn about the technical aspects of this *tomos*. The second and third *kollemata* seem to have been aligned at the lower end, which was normal practice (Clarysse, ‘Tomoi Syncollesimoi’ 354). If indeed, as the preserved part of the first *kollema* would indicate, the first two *kollemata* were also aligned at the top, this might point to a roll where the sheets all have the same height; but it may only be a coincidence. The reason why such rolls were aligned at the foot may have been that it was easier to align the part closer to the person who was sticking the *kollemata* onto the roll, or it may have to do with the way the *tomoi* were stored; if they were stored upright (in *capsae*?), they would need to have one level surface when rolled up, or else they would be subject to damage. But even if they were stored horizontally, it would be practical to have a level surface propped up against the wall.

Under the signed declaration, the two *kollemata* whose lower part is preserved (**4994–5**), contain official docketts that summarize the contents of the declaration, giving the district of provenance, the name of the person declared, his age and status. After the documents were glued into the *tomos*, numbers were added at the top (intact only in **4994**), repeated after the docket (**4994** 36, **4995** 33), in both documents by the same scribe; this is the number of the *kollema* within the *tomos*, as was common practice. This part of the roll will have contained *kollemata* numbered 33–36. Another official annotation (again, by the same scribe in both cases) was added below, and this refers to another *kollema*; its purpose is unclear (see **4994** 37 n.).

The back is blank.

**4993**

14 1B.203/K(1)a col. i

253/4?

Top?

πό]λεως

]

]ου

].ε..

5

].οc

]εϋc

].cτου

]αρ..

].

10

].ορ.α[.]

]τρ...[.]

Αὐ][ρήλιον]

]οῦτα πρὸς

ἀπὸ γυμ]νασίου

15

].ξ.....

]...οc

]

Οὐαλερι]αγοῦ

]

20

]

]

**4994**

14 1B.203/K(1)a col. ii

26 May or 24 June 254

(m.5) // λδ'

(m.1) Ἀὐρηλίω Ἡρᾶ, φυλάρχῃ τῆς Ὀξυρυγγ-  
 ειῶν πόλεως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους),  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Διοσκόρου Ἄντωνᾶ-  
 5 τος μητρὸς Ἰσαρίου καὶ τῆς τούτου γυ-  
 ναικὸς Ζαραποῦτος Ἀρμύσιος τοῦ  
 Ἡρακλείδου μητρὸς Διογενεί-



10 δος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.  
 βουλόμεθα πρῶτως ἀναγρα-  
 φῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἐ-  
 μοὶ τῷ Διοσκόρῳ ἐπ' ἀμφόδου  
 Πλατείας οἰκίας τὸν γεγονότα ἡ-  
 μεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων υἱὸν Αὐρή-  
 λιον Ἀρτεμίδωρον (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ  
 15 γυμνασίου ὄντα πρὸς τὸ ἐνε-  
 στωτῶδες α (ἔτος) (ἐτών) β ὡς καθήκει  
 καὶ ὀμνύομεν τὴν τῶν κυρίων  
 ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ  
 Σεβαστῶν τύχην μὴ ἐψεῦ-  
 20 χθαι. (ἔτους) α' Αὐτοκρατόρων  
 Καيسάρων Πουπλίου Λικινίου  
 Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου  
 Λικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
 Γαλλιηνοῦ Εὐσεβῶν  
 25 Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν, Παννι . .  
 (m.2) Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος(ς) ἐπι-  
 δέδωκα καὶ ὄμοσα  
 τὸν ὄρκον. (m.3) Αὐρηλία Σαραποῦς  
 Ἄρ]μιύσιος συνεπιδέδωκα καὶ ὄμοσα τ[ὸν  
 30 ὄρκο]ν. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Βησαρίων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς  
 φαι]μένης μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα.  
 (vac.)  
 (m.4) Πλατείας  
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος Διοσκόρου τοῦ  
 Ἀντωνᾶτος μητρὸς Σαραποῦτος  
 35 [[Ἡρακλ]] Ἄρμιύσιος τοῦ Ἡρακλ[εῖ]δου  
 (ἐτών) β (δωδεκάδραχος) ἀπὸ γυμ(νασίου). (m. 5) λδ  
 (vac.)  
 (m.6) κατεκ( ) κολ(λημα- ) ρμη

3 l. -ιτών	αδ	5 μη <sup>2</sup> ·ι·σαριου	7 l. Διογενί-	13 l. -μῖν	14 ιββ
16 αδLβ	17 κυριῶ	20 L	27 ὄμοσα: ο corr. from α	30 αυρη <sup>λ</sup>	34 μη <sup>τ</sup>
36 Lβ ιββ	γυμδ	37 κατεκκο <sup>λ</sup>			

(5th hand) '34'

(1st hand) 'To Aurelius Heras, phylarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites for the current 1st year,

from Aurelius Dioscorus son of Antonas, his mother being Isarion, and his wife Sarapous daughter of Harmiysis son of Heraclides, her mother being Diogenis, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi.

'We wish to register for the first time, in the house that belongs to me, Dioscorus, in the quarter of Plateia, our son Aurelius Artemidorus, who was born to us from one another, a payer of twelve drachmae and a member of the gymnasium, and who in the current 1st year is 2 years old, as is fitting, and we swear by the fortune of our lords Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti not to have lied.

'Year 1 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Pii Felices Augusti, Payni 1 (or 30).'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Dioscorus, have presented (the notification) and have sworn the oath.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelia Sarapous daughter of Harmiysis, have joined in presenting (this notification) and sworn the oath. I, Aurelius Besarion, wrote on her behalf since she claims not to know letters.'

(4th hand) 'The quarter of Plateia. Artemidorus son of Dioscorus son of Antonas, his mother being Sarapous daughter of Harmiysis son of Heraclides, two years old, a payer of twelve drachmae (and) a member of the gymnasium.' (5th hand) '34'

(6th hand) '. . . kollema 148.'

1 At the top left of the *kollema*, there are two long slanting strokes. These strokes appear in a characteristic pattern in both this roll as well as **4996-8** (lost in certain points). They were added after the separate sheets were glued together (see **4997** 33; cf. a comparative selection illustrating the position of the sheet before the writing in G. Messeri Savorelli, R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 196-8). They occur at the top of the document, to mark the point where the main body of the text starts, and then again before the official docket that contains the name of the person being declared. They were probably a kind of demarcation, intended to facilitate reference. Something similar may be seen at the top of C. Pap. Gr. II.1 40, an Oxyrhynchite death declaration of c.150.

2 *Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρακλῆ*. The phylarch Aurelius Heras is also the addressee of **4998** and probably of **4995**. The dated documents that attest him are VIII **1119** = W. Chr. 397 (16 August 253; see BL I 332, II.2 98), which refers to him as phylarch-to-be in 'year 4' (of the Galli); XXXVI **2763**, a surety for Heras during his term of office, dated year 1 = 253/4; **4994** of May/June 254; and **4998** of 253/4. The 'incoming' year 4 of **1119** came to be year 1 of Valerian and Gallienus, and so all references to Heras relate to year 253/4. Assuming that the phylarch served only for one year (Mertens, *Services* 22; Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*<sup>2</sup> 50), Heras is not the addressee of **4996**, which dates from year 2; but his name should be restored in **4995** 1, dated 6 January 254. We do not know the name of the phylarch of 254/5.

*φυλάρχῃ*. The office of a phylarch was a liturgy (cf. IX **1187** of 254). Candidates were nominated by the *demios*, not the *boule*, and were chosen by the strategus; see Mertens, *Services* 25-8. His office was held within the city, and he acted on his own, but contrast SB IV 7375, possibly from Hermopolis (see Mertens, *Services* 23), of 222-35, which refers to four phylarchs. This latter document offers the only attestation of the office before 245-8 (XXXIII **2664** 15), by which time the phylarch had replaced the *amphodogrammateus*; see P. J. Parsons, *JRS* 57 (1967) 136). The expressions used to determine his term of office, administrative duties and geographical limits are the same as those used for the *amphodogrammateus*. The declarations of birth are part of the relevant evidence: we find them addressed to the *amphodogrammateus* (X **1267**, XII **1552**), the phylarch (PSI XII 1257; cf. XLVI **3295**, P. Köln II 87), and later to the *syntates* (P. Corn. 18, P. Fuad 13, PSI III 164, XLIII **3137**, XLIV **3183**), who took over the phylarch's responsibilities. The same succession of officials may be observed in the declarations of death. The phylarch continued to function even in years when his tribe was not serving, and was still responsible for keeping records (but as an 'ex-phylarch'), at least records of the corn dole (XL **2892-2940** introd., pp. 7-8). For further bibliography and documentation, see Mertens, *Services* 16-29, and R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (2002) 145-6.

2-3 Ὁξυρρυγγ[ειτῶν]. The reason for this wrong syllabification is unclear; the scribe does not make such a mistake anywhere else, and in most other lines he does not seem as pressed to make the most of the whole width of the line.

8 Ὁξυρρύγγων. At this time, Ὁξυρρύγγων denotes provenance, and refers to the name of the city as a geographical term, while Ὁξυρρυγγιτῶν (here in 2-3) is used 'als ein politisches Gebilde', and complements descriptions of municipal officials (D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 279).

Two minor corrections may be recorded here. In P. Fouad 52.2 (after 272), where the edition reads ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει τῆς λαμπρῆς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρρύγγων) π[όλεως, read Ὁξυρρυγγιτῶν); sim. in the restored P. Col. VIII 222.2 (160/61) [τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις | Ὁξυρρύγγων)].

9 πρώτως. The child is being declared here for the first time. The boy is two years old; there are, however, documents where a πρωταπόγραφος can be up to thirteen years old, and such a case is found in 4995; cf. also 4999, where the child is twelve years old. The declaration could be made any time up to the child's fourteenth birthday.

11-12 ἀμφόδου Πλατείας. The location of this quarter is uncertain. In his schematic representation of the twelve names preserved in XL 2928, Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos* 371, places it in the south/south-east, in the vicinity of ἀμφόδου Κρητικοῦ and ἀμφόδου Ἑρμαίου. Alston suggests it is the Πλατεία τοῦ θεάτρου, and since the area where the theatre was situated is known, he places this quarter in that vicinity, i.e., very centrally in the city, towards the south-west. The district had gymnasial residents, and a magistrate owned property here (Alston, *The City* 154). See further S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 219-20, who is sceptical about the identification with the ἀμφόδου Πλατείας θεάτρου.

12-13 ἡμεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων. This is a standard phrase, though it may seem rather pleonastic, and indeed ἐξ ἀλλήλων is often omitted.

14 (δωδεκάδραχμον). Cf. 4995 12, 4996 9. This is the term used in the Oxyrhynchite nome for privileged citizens who had to pay a lower rate of poll-tax. In order to acquire this status, eligible boys had to undergo the process known as ἐπίκρισις.

14-15 ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. Cf. 4993 14, 4996 9-10. The class of οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, instituted in Oxyrhynchus in 4/5, designates an elite class within that of the metropolitae. It was a hereditary privilege and was under strict control, whereby one's Greek ancestry had to be confirmed, and the person who wanted to be recognized as belonging to this class had to go through the ἐπίκρισις. See the recent summary by S. Bussi, *Le élites locali nella provincia d'Egitto di prima età imperiale* (2008) 17-20.

16 ὡς καθήκει. We expect something on the lines of διὸ ἐπιδίδομεν τὸ ὑπόμνημα to come before this (cf. 4995 14-15), or one of the longer variants of the formula. The scribe seems to have omitted this by accident.

25 Παννι. The figure is λ or λ. Under this line there is a long paragraphus, showing the end of the main body of the document. Cf. 4997 24.

26-31 It is not surprising that the mother of a member of the gymnasial class was illiterate, but it is remarkable that his father is a βραδέως γράφων, signing the declaration with evident difficulty in a shaky capital.

32-6 We find a similar docket in 4995 29-32; see also XLVI 3295 28 (285), P. Corn. 18.25-31, XXXVIII 2855 17-18 (both 291), XLIII 3137 18-21, XLIV 3183 21-5 (both 292).

37 κατεκ(.). The abbreviation is marked by a long oblique stroke crossing through κ, and is followed by a short blank space. The same annotation occurs at the foot of 4995, and seems to be the same as the note added at the end of 4996 and 4997, where, however, it is followed by a different text. Its meaning is unclear. One could think of κατεκ(ολλήθη), though the verb is not attested in any other papyrus, but this is not the word written in 4996 45 and 4997 37.

κολ(λημα-) ρμη. The purpose of this reference is unknown. For another obscure mention of kollemata in an official subscription, see L 3565 40, a census return of 245, discussed by Kruse, *Königliche Schreiber* i 117 n. 174.

4995

14 1B.203/K(1)a col. iii

6 January 254

Α[ύρηλιῶ Ἡρᾶ  
 . [ .  
 τ. [ .  
 δ[ .  
 5 θ[ .  
 . [ .  
 [ .  
 [ .  
 10 .....  
 Αὐρ]ήλ(ιον) Τούρβωνα  
 μητρὸς Φιλοῦτος  
 .] . τα γενο( ) (δωδεκαδραχμ- ) . .  
 πρὸς τὸ ἐν(εστὸς) α (ἔτος) (ἐτῶν) ιγ.  
 δι[δ] ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ  
 15 ὑπ[ό]μνη(μα) ὡς καθήκει(ει).  
 (ἔτους) α" Αὐτοκρατόρων  
 Καϊσάρων Πουπλίου  
 Λικωνίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
 καὶ Πουπλίου Λικωνίου  
 20 Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλιηνοῦ  
 Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν  
 Σεβαστῶν, Τυβι ια.  
 (m.2) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπι-  
 δέδωκα. Αὐρή(λιος) Θέων  
 25 δ] καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐπικα-  
 λούμενος Ζώιλος ἔγρα-  
 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ό]-  
 τος γράμματα.  
 (vac.)  
 (m.3) Κρητικ[οῦ]  
 30 Τούρβ[ων] Ἀχιλ-  
 λέως [μητρὸς] Φιλοῦ-  
 τος [ .  
 (m.4) λς [ .

(vac.)  
 (m.5) κατεκ( ) [  
 10, 23 αυρη<sup>λ</sup> 12 γεν<sup>ο</sup>ιβ<sup>ς</sup> 13 εῖ α<sup>ς</sup>Λιγ 15 καθη<sup>κ</sup> 16 L 24 αυρ<sup>η</sup>  
 34 κατεκ

‘... (10 ff.) Aurelius Tourbon, his mother being Philous . . . , payer of twelve drachmae, and in the present 1st year 13 years old. Therefore I present the notification as is fitting.

‘Year 1 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Pii Felices Augusti, Tybi 11.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Achilleus, have presented (the notification). I, Aurelius Theon, also known as Asclepiades and also called Zoilus, wrote on his behalf, since he doesn’t know letters.’

(3rd hand) ‘The Cretan quarter. Tourbon son of Achilleus, his mother being Philous.’

(4th hand) ‘35.’

(5th hand) ‘...’

12 [ . . . ] γα γενο( ). A patronymic for Philous may be appropriate (cf. X 1267 17–18), but the traces do not obviously suggest any known male name: only [C]ωτᾶ could be considered, but omega is hard to reconcile with the remains (apparently not [M]ελα: tau is a better reading than lambda). γενο( ) is surely a form of γενόμενος, a participle often used for deceased persons; could it refer to the father of Philous, γενο(μένου) (δωδεκαδράχμου)?

What is written at the end of the line is also puzzling. One possibility is υἱό(ν), but the position of the word would be awkward; another is καί, but is even more difficult. What follows is usually preceded by ὄντα, but this is not written.

22 Τύβι. The document that comes before this in the tomos (4994) is dated to the month of Payni. Usually the kollemata run chronologically from left to right; but see 4996–7.

24–6 Αἰρή(λιος) Θέων [δ] καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐπικαλούμενος Ζώιλος. This person recurs in L 3595 (243) and XIV 1636 (249) performing the same function as here; see H. Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 89. His wife is attested in IX 1199 4–5 (275/6 or 281/2; see BL XI 147).

The way Theon styles himself, with two aliases, is not common; this combination recurs in P. Iand. VII 139.13–14 (148), XLVII 3345 ii 60 (209), and VI 964 1–2 (263), all from Oxyrhynchus. On the issue, see the references collected in 4990 6 n., especially Hobson’s article. It seems that δ καί is the expression denoting the formal alternative of a name, while ἐπικαλούμενος introduces sobriquets and nicknames.

29 Κρητικ[οῦ]. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos* 84 (cf. 371) places this *amphodon* in the southern part of the city. Alston, *The City* 154, further suggests that it is identical with the *amphodon Ioudaikes*. This must have been of a similar social makeup to the *amphodon Plateias*, also being residence for members of the gymnasial class and a magistrate. See further Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 217.

32 Probably nothing was written in the lost part of the line; contrast 4994 35.

34 In the break there perhaps stood κολλ(λημα?) ρυθ, ‘sheet no. 149’, if the numbers were consecutive; see 4994 37 with n.

M. MALOUTA

#### 4996–4998. NOTIFICATIONS OF DEATH

14 1B.203/K(2)

19 × 33 cm

Four *kollemata* from a *tomos synkollesimos*, apparently found with 4993–4995. The *kollemata* have different heights; the bottom parts are aligned, but the tops vary visibly (the fourth *kollema* is approximately 4 cm shorter than the second).

Of the first *kollema* only scant line-ends from the middle and lower parts of the document survive. These remains (not transcribed below) are too exiguous to identify it as a death notice, but it was surely one. The second *kollema* (4996) is a notification submitted by a father, informing an official of his son’s death. It is dated to Year 2 of Valerian and Gallienus (254/5), which shows that the *kollemata* were not arranged chronologically, since the next *kollema* is from year 1 (cf. 4994–5, in which the documents come from year 1, but the order of months is not chronological). Most of the lower half is missing, apart from the last eight lines. In the third *kollema* (4997), dated to May/June 254 (Year 1), another father reports the death of his son. The text is largely complete, apart from a few lines missing at the top and a hole at the middle.

In the fourth *kollema* (4998), also dated to Year 1 (253/4), Aurelius Amoitas declares the death of Vibius Publius, of whom he was the guardian or manager, and of two of Publius’ slaves. As was common practice, the reason for the deaths is not given. Accident or foul play readily comes to mind, but the date of the document may suggest a further possibility: Egypt in the middle of the third century suffered from a plague epidemic, which lasted for about fifteen years (H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* (1964) 270; list of literary sources in G. Casanova, *Aegyptus* 54 (1984) 174 n. 53; P. Salmon, *Population et dépopulation dans l’Empire romain* (1974) 134–6). Indeed the whole of the Roman Empire was attacked by an epidemic of plague, which lasted from 251 to 268; it came from Ethiopia, was very contagious, and had devastating repercussions (H. Zinsser, *Rats, Lice and History* (1935) 138–41). According to Eusebius, *HE* 7.21, by 260 the population of Alexandria had been halved (Salmon, *Population et dépopulation* 140–41). In the papyri there are references to possibly contagious diseases even shortly after 260, for example P. Mert. I 26, where the fate of an orphan boy is at stake, both of whose parents had died, presumably suddenly, ἀπό τινος φρεικώδους νόσου. The possible connection between such epidemics and death declarations is discussed by Casanova, *Aegyptus* 54 (1984) 172–3, and *Pap. Congr. XVII* iii 951. On diseases and their effect on the demography of Roman Egypt, see W. Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (2001).

All preserved *kollemata* carry official annotations, in the form also found in 4993–5: 4996 and 4998 preserve the top left of the documents, and the same slanting strokes marking the beginning of the text can be seen. 4998 also preserves

the middle part of the upper margin, where, as in **4993–5**, there is a numeral. **4996** and **4997** preserve the slanting strokes to the left of the summarizing subscription, but these are in a different place in **4998**; all three preserve the final docket. **4996** and **4997** seem to have the same puzzling wording as in **4994** and **4995** (see **4994** 37 n.); in **4998** the subscription is different.

The notifications published down to the early 1980s were re-edited with introduction and commentary by L. Casarico, *Il controllo della popolazione nell'Egitto romano: 1. Le denunce di morte* = C. Pap. Gr. II.1 (1985). For further references, see LXV **4478–80** introd., with Kruse, *Königliche Schreiber* i 143 n. 256. There are several documents of this type that survive as parts of *tomoi synkollesimoi*; see C. Pap. Gr. II.1 30–31, 38, 47–48, 49, 62, 65, 71, 78, 79. Cf. also **4992**.

## 4996

14 1B.203/K(2) col. ii

254/5

≡ [   
 Αὐ[ρηλίω - - - -   
 τ[οῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους)   
 παρὰ [Τι]βερίου Κλαυ[δίου]   
 Δημητρίου υἱοῦ Τιβερίου   
 5 Κλαυδίου Κοπρέως.   
 ὁ υἱὸς μου Δημέας ἐκ μη-   
 τρὸς Τανεχώτιδος Πετ-   
 τειράτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων   
 πόλεως (δωδεκάδραχμος) ἀπὸ γυμνα-   
 10 σίου ἀναγραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμ-   
 φόδου Πλατείας ἐτελεύ-   
 τησεν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει.   
 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνη-   
 μα πρὸς τὸ ἀναγραφῆ-   
 15 ναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοί-   
 ων τάξει ὡς καθήκει.   
 καὶ ὁμνῶ τὴν Οὐαλεριανοῦ   
 καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Καισάρων   
 τῶν κυρίων τύχην   
 20 μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι.   
 (ἔτους) β'' Αὐτοκρατόρων   
 Καισάρων Πουπλίου

Λικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ   
 καὶ [Πο]υπλίου Λικινίου   
 25 Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γ]αλλιηνοῦ   
 Εὐσεβῶν Εὐ]τυχῶν   
 Σεβαστῶν, month, day]   
 (m.2) ] . εἰ .   
 ] . .   
 30 ] . του   
 ] . αι   
 ] . . .   
 ] . οι . . ος   
 ] . ης   
 35 ] . . . ας   
 ] . . υ   
 ] . . μου   
 ] . .   
 (m.3) ] . . (δωδεκαδραχμ )   
 40 ≡ [ ] . . . . Τιβερίου(υ) Κλαυδίου Δη-   
 μητρίου υἱοῦ(υ) Τιβερίου(υ) Κλαυδίου   
 Κοπρέως μη(τρὸς) Τανεχώτι-   
 δος Πεττειράτος   
 ἐξ (ὑπομνήματος) τοῦ πατρός.   
 (m.4) 45 κατεκελ( ) γρ( ) . . η ι . .   
 γλ.

4 υἱου 5 κοπρεως 6 υἱος 7-8 πετ'τειρατος 9, 39 ιβς 13 ὑπομνη-   
 21 L 39 ιβς 40, 41 τιβερι' κλ' 41 υι° 42 μ' 44 εξ/ 45 κατεκελ γρς

'To Aurelius . . . (phylarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites?) of the present 2nd year, from Tiberius Claudius Demetrius son of Tiberius Claudius Copreus.

'Demeas, my son by Tanechotis daughter of Petteiras from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, payer of twelve drachmae and a member of the gymnasium, registered in the quarter of Plateia, died during the current year. Therefore I present the notification, so that he may be registered in the list of those of a similar category as is fitting. And I swear by the fortune of our lords Valerianus and Gallienus Caesares not to have lied.

'Year 2 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Pii Felices Augusti, (month, day).'

(2nd hand) ' . . . '

(3rd hand) ' . . . payer of twelve drachmae . . . of Tiberius Claudius Demetrius son of Tiberius Claudius Copreus, his mother being Tanechotis daughter of Petteiras, from the notification of the father.'

(4th hand) ' . . . '

On the checkmarks above line 1, see **4994** 1 n.

1 Probably not *Ἀν[ρηλίω Ἡρᾶ φυλάρχῃ]*; see **4994** 2 n.

2 τ[οῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους)]. The year figure is guaranteed by line 21.

7-8 *Πεττειράτος* (*πετ'τειρατος* pap.) is a variant of the name *Πεττειράς*, written *Πεττειράτος* in 43 by a different scribe. The name occurs also in P. Oslo III 111.297 (235) and P. Giss. 101.13 (iii), both Oxyrhynchite. The assimilation of the two consonants is often attested with the name *Πέττ(ε)ιρις*, as well as other names starting *Πεττ-*. From the third century onwards, the apostrophe is often written between the two taus; see P. Köln I 55.19 (238-44?), XIV **1699** 8 (240-80), PSI Congr. XXI 12 v 12 (261), LIV **3738** 18 (312), PSI X 1106.15 (336), BGU VII 1628.14 (iv), SPP III2 98.1 (vi).

9-10 (*δωδεκάδραχμος*) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. See **4994** 14 n., 14-15 n.

10-11 ἀμφόδου Πλατείας. See **4994** 11-12 n.

18 *Καισάρων: Σεβαστῶν* in **4994** 19, **4997** 16. *Καισάρων* also occurs in XLIII **3109** 25 (253-6), while in XXXVI **2763** 9 (253/4) it was cancelled and replaced by *Σεβαστῶν*. All these passages come from imperial oaths, not dating formulas.

28-36 This part would have contained the signature of the person presenting the notification and the statement that he has sworn the oath, and very probably an illiteracy formula.

39 ff. These lines were written in by an official after the *kollema* had been glued onto the roll: before the text of the second of these lines starts, there are two slanting strokes that start on the left side of the *kollasis* and onto the right, i.e., the *kollema* in question. For their function, see **4994** 1 n.

40 *υἰόν* cannot be read at the beginning of the line.

44 ἐξ (*ὑπομνήματος*). Cf. **4997** 36. The particular symbol as abbreviation for *ὑπόμνημα* is unattested. The phrase, however, is widely attested; see especially P. Col. II 1.iii, where it occurs throughout the text also in reference to deaths.

45 *κατεκελ( )* reminds one of what was transcribed as *κατεκ( )* at the beginnings of **4994** 37 and **4995** 34, but what follows is different. After *γρ( )*, there is a stroke of obscure import followed by what may be the *artaba* symbol; then an upright stroke, followed by the fractions  $\frac{\eta}{\iota\beta}$   $\frac{\kappa\delta}{\epsilon}$  (it is hard to take the upright as the fraction for  $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Apparently not *κατέβαλ(εν) γρ(αμματεῖ)*.

## 4997

14 1B.203/K(2) col. iii

26 May - 24 June 254

].ος Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Θεῶ[νος  
μητρὸς Ἱερακιάνης  
ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως.  
ὁ υἱὸς μου Κοπρεὺς  
5 ὁ] καὶ Μέλας μητρὸς  
Τεκλώμιος τέλειος ἀτε-  
χνος ἀναγραφόμενος  
ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἱπποδρό-  
μου ἔτελ(εύτησεν) τῷ ἐνεστῶ(τι) ἔτει.  
10 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνη-

μα πρὸς τὸ ἀναγρα(φῆναι) αὐτὸν  
ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει  
ὡς καθήκει. καὶ ὁμνύ-  
ω τῇ τῶν κυρίων  
15 ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
καὶ Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν  
τύχην μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι.  
(ἔτους) α// Αὐτοκρατόρων  
Καισάρων Πουπλίου  
20 Λικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
καὶ Πουπλίου Λικινίου  
Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλιανοῦ  
Εὐσεβῶν Εὐ[τυχῶ]ν  
Σεβαστῶν, [Παχῶ]ν.  
(m.2) 25 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Πλουτ[ί]ων ἐ-  
πιδέδ[ω]κα καὶ ὤμοσα  
τὸν ὄρκον ὡς πρόκει-  
ται. Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ  
30 ε]ιδότος γράμματα.  
(m.3) Ἱπποδρόμου τέλειος  
Ἱπέων Παρεμ(βολῆς)  
(m.4) Κοπρεὺς Πλουτίωνος  
τοῦ Ἀντιόχου Θεῶνος  
35 μῆ(τρὸς) Ἱερακιάνης  
ἐξ (ὑπομνήματος) τοῦ πα[τρός].  
(m.5) κατεκε[...].

2, 35 Ἱερακιάνης 4 first o very large υἱος 9 ετε<sup>λ</sup> τῷ: ω corr from ε ενεστ<sup>ω</sup>  
10 ὑπομνη- 11 ἀναγραφῆς 18 L 32 παρῆ 35 μ<sup>η</sup> 36 ἐξ/

'... (son) of Antiochus, grandson of Theon, his mother being Hieraciaena, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. My son Copreus also called Melas, his mother being Teclomis, adult, without a profession, registered in the quarter of the Hippodrome, died during the current year. Therefore I present the notification, so that he may be registered in the list of those of a similar category as is fitting. And I swear by the fortune of our lords Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti not to have lied.

'Year 1 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Pii Felices Augusti, Pachon(?).'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Ploution, have presented (the notification) and sworn the oath as is written above. I, Aurelius Dionysius, wrote on his behalf, for he does not know letters.'

(3rd hand) 'The quarter of the Hippodrome, adult, the quarter of Hippeon Parembole.'

(4th hand) 'Copreus son of Ploution, grandson of Antiochus son of Theon, his [= Ploution's] mother being Hieraciaena, from the notification of the father.'

(5th hand) '...'

1 The first letter may be  $\kappa$ , so that one may read [*παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πλουτίου*] |  $\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . Before this, the address would have taken up another two lines; cf. 4996 and 4998 2-3.

6 *Τεκλώμιος*. A rare name, attested otherwise only in BGU VII 1641.8 (127).

*τέλειος*. Cf. 31, 4998 13. On this term see LXV 4479 5 n.

8-9 *ἀμφόδου Ἱπποδρόμου*. This quarter is well attested in documents dating from the early first century until 259; it is conspicuously absent from I 43 of 295 (Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos* 83). See further Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 217.

24 [*Ἰαχῶ*]  $\nu$ . Only the name of the month is stated, which is unusual, but the remains of the letter only match  $\nu$ .

31 ff. See 4996 39 ff. n.

31-2 *Ἱπποδρόμου, Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς*. It is not easy to understand why the subscription refers to two quarters; there is no parallel. Perhaps the quarter of the Hippodrome was where the deceased was registered at some point after he became of age, whereas originally he was registered in Hippeon Parembole; or perhaps the notification was entered in the quarter of Hippeon Parembole, assuming that his father, the declarant, came from there. IV 786, a census return of 119, carries a subscription that also names two quarters. It has been suggested that the declaration may have been carried from the one quarter to the other and deposited there, or else that the dual statement of quarter may reflect an update of an individual's official address (L. Capponi, *ZPE* 140 (2002) 179-80).

32 *Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς*. For a list of attestations, see Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 217. This *ἀμφοδον* was located in the north to north-west of the city (Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos* 371). The cavalry barracks were originally associated with the Ptolemaic cavalry. The name continued to be used, in spite of the fact that by 64 there was no *παρεμβολή* anymore (Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos* 86). For possible later uses of the barracks, see Capponi, loc. cit. 180.

35 *μη(τρὸς) Τερακιάνης*. Dr A. Benaissa remarks that it is odd for the father's metronymic to be given at this point, where one expects the metronymic of the deceased; cf. e.g. in 4996 34. This may be due to scribal carelessness.

37 *κατεκε*. [...]. See 4996 45 with n.

## 4998

14 1B.203/K(2) col. iv

253/4

(*m.*?)  $\xi\epsilon$ [  
 (*m.*1) *Ἀὐρηλίῳ Ἡρᾷ φυλάρχῃ τῆ[ς Ὀξυρυχιτῶν] πόλ(εως)*  
*τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους) [*  
*παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀμοῖτᾶ Ἀμοῖ[τᾶτος μητρὸς*  
 5 *Θαήσιος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων [πόλεως ἐπι-*  
*τρόπου Οὐειβίου Πουπ[λίου] - - Ἀπολ-*  
*λωνίας μητρὸς καὶ ὡς [χρηματίζει(?). Οὐ(ε)ίβιος*  
*Πούπλιος Πτολεμαίου [τοῦ name*  
*μητρὸς Ἀπολλωνί[ας (ἐτῶν)] . .*

10 *ἄτεχνος ἀναγρ(αφόμενος) ἐπ' ἀ[μφόδου name*  
*καὶ Ἀνείκητος ἀνθ' [οὐδ - - -*  
*της δοῦλ(ος) Πουπλίου [ (ἐτῶν)*  
*ις. τέλ(ειος) ἄτεχ[νος ἀναγρ(αφόμενος)*  
*ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Παμμέν[ου Παραδείσου]*  
 15 *καὶ Εὐφράτης δοῦλ(ος) Πουπ[λίου (ἐτῶν)] . .*  
*ἄτεχνος ἀναγρ(αφόμενος) ἐπ' ἀμφ[όδου*  
*Νεμεσίου, οἱ γ̄ ἐτελ(εύτησαν) [ - - -*  
*διὸ ἐπιδίδομι τὸ ὑπ[όμνημα*  
*πρὸς τὸ ἀναγρ(αφήναι) αὐτ[οὺς ἐν τῇ*  
 20 *τῶν ὀ[μοί]ων τ[άξει ὡς καθήκει.*  
*καὶ ὁμνῶ [τὸν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίοις*  
*ὄρκον μὴ ἐψεῦσ[θαι. (ἔτους) α*  
*Αὐτοκρατόρων [Καيسάρων*  
*Πουπλίου Λικ[ινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ*  
 25 *καὶ Πουπλίου [Λικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ*  
*Γαλλεινοῦ [Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν*  
*Σεβαστῶν, [(month, day). Αὐρήλιος Ἀμοῖτᾶς*  
*Ἀμοῖτᾶτος [ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὄμοσα*  
*τὸν ὄρκον ὡς π[ρόκειται.*

(*vac.*)

(*m.*2) 30 *δι(ὰ) Ἀπίωνος . . φελ( )*

(*vac.*)

(*m.*3) *λα*

*κς*

*ξε*

2, 4 *αυρ'* 3 *ας* 10, 16, 19 *αναγρς* 11 *l. Ἀνείκητος* 12, 15 *δου<sup>λ</sup>* 13 *ις<sup>φ</sup>/*  
*τε<sup>λ</sup>* 14 *αμφοδ* 17 *ετε<sup>λ</sup>* 18 *l. ἐπιδίδωμι ὑπ[* 26 *l. Γαλλινοῦ* 30 *... φε<sup>λ</sup>*

(? hand) '65.'

(1st hand) 'To Aurelius Heras, phylarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, for the current 1st year, from Aurelius Amoitias son of Amoitias, his mother being Thasis from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, guardian (or: steward) of Vibius Publius, . . . Apollonia, his mother, and however he(?) is officially described.

'Vibius Publius son of Ptolemaeus, grandson of . . . , his mother being Apollonia, *n* years old, of no trade, registered at the quarter of . . . , and Anicetus also called . . . , a slave of Publius, sixteen years old, adult, of no trade, registered at the quarter of Pammenous Paradeisos, and Euphrates, a slave of Publius, *n* years old, of no trade, registered at the quarter of Nemesion, died, all 3, [during the current year(?)]. Therefore I present the notification so that they may be registered in the list of those of a similar category as is fitting. And I swear the oath customary to Romans not to have lied.

'Year 1 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Pii Felices Augusti, month, day.

'I, Aurelius Amoitias son of Amoitias, have presented (this notification) and sworn the oath as is written above.'

(2nd hand) 'Through Apion . . .'

(3rd hand) '31. 26. 65(?)'

4 *Αὐρ(ηλίου) Αμοῖτᾶ Αμοῖ[τᾶτος]*. The restoration is guaranteed by line 28. Father and son have the same name but use different forms of its genitive; for a similar case, cf. LXVII 4600 4, 13–14. *Αμοῖτᾶς* is a typical Oxyrhynchite name; see P. Bingen 105.3 n.

5–6 *ἐπίτροπον*. The term here either refers to a tutor or guardian for a minor or the overseer of an estate. We have one parallel for such a notice being submitted by guardians, P. Tebt. II 301 = C. Pap. Gr. II.1 64 (190). If this is a guardian, the implication is that the deceased Vibius Publius is under fourteen years of age, but this cannot be ascertained, since his age is lost. See further next note.

6 *Οὐίβιου Πουπ[λίου]*. A certain *Οὐίβιος Πούπιος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει* is listed among the landowners in *Ἡρακλείδου ἐποίκιον* in XII 1537 7 (ii/iii); XIV 1646 1 (268/9) attests the heirs of Vibius Publius, a veteran, late *officialis* on the prefect's staff, and late councillor of Alexandria. If we are dealing with the same person, the present document, dated to 253/4, cannot refer to a minor, in which case Aurelius Amoitias would be an 'overseer' of privately owned property. Examples of this kind of *ἐπίτροπος* are found in XII 1577, 1578, (possibly) XIV 1680, P. Brem. 15, P. Ross.-Georg. III 7, and P. Köln III 143. III 501 might also offer such an example, though G. Hamza, in *Symposium* 7 (1988) 349–60, takes the word to mean a guardian. From 1578 and 1680 it would seem that the *ἐπίτροπος* had a similar function to that of *φροντιστής* (P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (1911) 419), but was higher up in the hierarchy of administration. Being a landowner, it would be justified for Vibius Publius to have had a manager for his land. What is unparalleled is the overseer's entitlement to declare the death of his master.

6–7 *Ἀπολλωνίας μητρός*. Something must have come between the name of Vibius Publius and that of his mother. The order *Ἀπολλωνίας μητρός* is odd, if the phrase is taken to be the standard statement of the name of the mother in filiations; it would further suggest that Publius is officially described as her son, which is impossible, since his patronymic is stated in the next line, where his name is officially registered. Thus we may assume that Publius is mentioned as an explanation of the role of Amoitias. Likewise, the name of Apollonia is mentioned not as an official filiation, but to explain her role in the practical side of the declaration. If she is a widow, and what is stated at the beginning of the declaration is that Amoitias is the guardian of her son, what is lost is either a degree of relation with Apollonia, which would require no other explanation as to how he came to be a guardian (*ἀδελφός*, *θεῖος*, etc.), or a preposition giving the meaning 'appointed through', 'on behalf of', etc. This could be *διὰ* or *ὑπό*, explaining his appointment, or *ὑπέρ*, suggesting that, since he was the guardian, he drafted the declaration on the mother's behalf. If so, *μητρός* would be in apposition to *Ἀπολλωνίας*.

7 *ὡς [χρηματίζει(?)]*. This could be taken with Vibius Publius (cf. 1537 7), though in that case we would probably have *ἐχρημάτιζεν*, or refers to his mother. It is also conceivable though less likely that we have to resolve *χρηματίζω*, which would refer to Amoitias.

8 *Πούπιος Πτολεμαίου*. The name here must be the same as the one in line 6. Apart from the obvious similarity, it facilitates the transition from the prescript to the main part of the declaration by serving as the connection between the declarant and the deceased. So the line above must have ended with the word *Οὐ(ε)βίος*. The patronymic is given as *Πτολεμαίου* and after the break the line must have contained the name of the grandfather, in the form *τοῦ + name* in the genitive.

11–12 The first three letters of 12 must be the ending of the alternative name given for

*Ἀνείκητος*. This name may be *Ν(ε)κητής*: when *ἀνθ' οὐδ* is used, the names given are often similar, or indeed variations of the same name. Cf. BGU IV 1062 = W. Chr. 276.1 *Ἐρμίας ἀνθ' οὐδ Ἐρμής*; BGU IX 1897.5 *Ἀρποκρα( ) ἀνθ' οὐδ Ἀρποκ( )*, 168 *Χάρης ἀνθ' οὐδ Χάρεις*; XII 1475 15 *Νείκωνος ἀνθ' οὐδ Νεικομήδου*; and most curiously, P. Lond. III 1170.727 *Ἐκύσεως ἀνθ' οὐδ Ἐκύσεως*.

12 *δοῦλος*. Cf. 15. Several notifications of death relate to slaves; see LXXV 4479 5 n. Two slaves are mentioned in XLIX 3510 = C. Pap. Gr. II.1 15.

13 The crossed sinusoid after 15 may be a mere numerical marker. The purpose of the oblique stroke that follows is unclear.

*ἀτεχ[νος]*. Cf. 16. For the term, see 4989 12 n. It is used for slaves also in 3510 9 (78/9), XXXI 2564 7 (153), and VII 1030 8 (212) (= C. Pap. Gr. II.1 15, 44, 71).

14 *ἀμφόδου Παμμένου[ς Παραδείκου]*. This quarter was situated in the south-west of the city, and was adjacent to the city walls (Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos* 371, 85). Since each of these slaves was registered in a different quarter (cf. 17), their master or his family must have owned property in both of these quarters.

16–17 *ἀμφ[όδου] Νεμερίου*. This quarter of Oxyrhynchus must have been near that of *Θερμών Βαλανείων*, since parts of the Eastern Stoa of the city seem to have belonged to both (Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos* 84, 87). Not attested in papyri before the third century.

17 *ἐτελ(εύτησαν)* [. This would have been followed by *τῷ ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ name of month τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους* or *τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει μηνὶ name of month*, or even simply by *τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει*, as in the other two examples preserved in this roll. The phrase was probably abbreviated.

18 On the left of this line there appear the two characteristic strokes used throughout these documents. Here, however, the use of the strokes is slightly different, unavoidably so, since the layout of this document also differs from that of the others. Since in this case there is no official docket at the end, the strokes come before the line that states the deaths. The use is therefore the same, i.e., to mark the place where it is stated whom the declaration concerns.

21 *ὀμνῶ [τὸν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίους]*. The collocation as restored suits the space, but does not occur in any of the other documents in this roll or in 4993–5. On this formula, see CPR XXIII 12 introd. and pp. 232–3 (table).

30 *δι(ὰ) Ἀπίωνος . . . φελ( ) : τῶν Ὁφελ(λίου)?* But the article is hard to justify. For the subscript, cf. C. Pap. Gr. II.1 76.18 (229).

33 *ξξ*. The third of the numbers scribbled at the foot of the document is the same as that written at the top of the *kollema*. It may not be a coincidence that there are three numbers in a document in which three people are declared dead. However, the exact purpose of the numbers is not clear.

M. MALOUTA

#### 4999. REGISTRATION OF A CHILD

28 4B.60/B(1–3)b

4.7 × 18.5 cm

12 August 292

This is an application to register a twelve-year old boy, submitted by a friend of the boy's deceased father. The beginnings of the lines are lost, but much the most of the main text can be securely restored; the reconstruction of the official docket (23 ff.), however, is problematic. The absence of the declarant's signature is noteworthy; it is also absent from XLIV 3183 but present in XLIII 3136, both of which date from summer 292. The dockets, written in hands other than those of the main texts, indicate that these were not private copies.

On this type of document, see **4996–4998** introd. A close parallel is XXXVIII **2855**, which dates from the previous year (291). Both **2855** and **4999** concern the sons of deceased fathers, and are addressed ‘to the board of *laographoi* through one of them’, Aurelius Diogenes alias Hermias. This person was previously attested as the *systates*, to whom other such applications were addressed: PSI III 164 (287), P. Corn. 18 (291), and XLIV **3183** (292). Three years later, a similar registration was submitted to the board of *systatai* (XLIII **3137** of 295). ‘It is a probable conclusion that the term *laographus* was at this period equivalent to *systates*’ (**3137** introd.); in any case, the use of the term *laographoi*, common in earlier times (cf. above, **4983** and **4991**), for the collectivity of *systatai* was not long-lived.

The inventory numbers of these registrations of children dated to 291 and 292 imply that they were found in relatively close proximity, which may suggest an archival connection. **4999** comes from metal packing box no. 60 of the fourth excavation campaign at Oxyrhynchus; **3183** (28 4B.61/B(8)a) comes from box 61, **2855** (29 4B.56/C(7)a) from box 56; it is unclear whether the same applies to **3136** (292), which comes from box 71 (35 4B.71/H(1–3)a).

The back is blank.

τῷ κοινῷ τῶν] λαογράφων διὰ τοῦ  
 ἐνὸς αὐτῶν] Αὐρηλίου Διογένι  
 τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμείου τ]ῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχι-  
 τῶν πόλεως το]ῦ ἐνεστῶτος η (ἔτους) καὶ ζ (ἔτους)  
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Ὠρίωνος Θέωνος μη(τρὸς)  
 α.6 ἀπὸ τῆ]ς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχι-  
 τῶν πόλεως. βού]λομαι πρῶτος ἀπογράψα-  
 σθαι παρὰ σοὶ τὸ]ν τοῦ φίλου μου καὶ μετηλ-  
 λαχότος α.4 ] ἰωνος Σαραπίωνος υἱὸν  
 10 α.12 ] ἡν ἐκ μη(τρὸς) Ἄδωρᾶς ἐπ’ ἀμ-  
 φόδου ὄ]ντα πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς  
 η (ἔτος) καὶ ζ (ἔτος)] (vac.) (ἑτῶν) ιβ  
 α.12 ] διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνη-  
 μα ἀξιῶν ταγή]ναι αὐτόν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀ-  
 15 μηλικῶν τά]ξιν ὡς καθήκει καὶ  
 ὀμνύω τὸν ἔθι]μον Ῥωμαίους ὄρκον  
 μὴ ἔψευσθαι. (ἔτους)] η/ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Γαίου Αὐρηλίου] Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ  
 καὶ (ἔτους) ζ Αὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 20 Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερ]ίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερ-  
 μανικῶν Μεγίστ]ων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν

Σεβαστῶν,] Μεσορη ιθ.  
 (vac.)  
 (m.2) ] υς  
 ] . (ἑτῶν) ιβ'  
 25 ] ου υἱοῦ μεγάλω  
 ] . Μερμέρθων  
 (vac.)  
 ] . α . ης  
  
 2 1. Διογένους 3, 6 λαμ(bis) οξυρυγ'χι 4 } (bis) 5, 10 μη? 7 1. πρῶτως  
 9 υἱον 12, 24 L 13 1. ἐπιδίδωμι 25 υἱου 1. μεγάλου?

‘To the board of *laographoi* through one of them, Aurelius Diogenes alias Hermias, of the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, for the current 8th year and 7th year, from Aurelius (?)Horion son of Theon, mother . . . , from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites. I wish to register with you for the first time the son of my deceased friend—ion son of Sarapion,—es, of mother Adora, in the quarter of . . . , who in the current 8th year and 7th year is 12 years old (of the twelve-drachma gymnasial class?). Therefore I submit the application requesting that he be enrolled in the category of his age group as is appropriate, and I swear the oath customary to Romans not to have lied. Year 8 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus and year 7 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices Augusti, Mesore 19.’  
 (2nd hand) ‘. . . 12 years old . . . son of the great(?) . . . Mermertha . . .’

1–4 The order of the constituents of the prescript is confused; it should have been τῷ κοινῷ τῶν λαογράφων τῆς λαμπράς κτλ. τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κτλ. διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς κτλ. We find a peculiar order in **2855** 1–4 too: τῷ κοινῷ κτλ. τῆς λαμπράς κτλ. διὰ κτλ. τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κτλ.

2–3 Αὐρηλίου Διογένι (l. -ους) τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμείου. For a list of attestations of this *systates*, see P. Leid. Inst. p. 277.

5 Αὐρηλίου] Ὠρίωνος Θέωνος. Assuming that the name was not Δ]ωρίωνος, it is tempting to identify this person with the *systates* of this name, who was Aurelius Diogenes’ successor; see the listing in P. Leid. Inst. pp. 277–8.

7 πρῶτος, 1. πρῶτως. See **4994** 9 n.

8 Restored after **2855** 8.

10 Ἄδωρᾶς. The genitive of this name is usually Ἄδωρᾶ, like the nominative. The ending in -ᾶς recurs in P. Herm. 67 = SB XIV 12133.7 (vi).

11 Παμμένους Παραδείσου, suggested by ]υς in 23 (see n.), is long unless abbreviated. This is the *amphodon* mentioned in **2855**.

13 The break most probably took away the sequence (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου.

14–15 ὄ][μηλικῶν suits the space better than ὁμοίων; on these terms, see **3136** introd.

17–22 For this regnal formula (2), see *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 226.

23 ff. The annotation seems to begin according to the usual pattern, with the name of *amphodon* followed by the name and age of boy declared; cf. **2855** 27 ff., **3136** 18 ff., **3183** 21 ff., P. Corn. 18.25 ff. The genitives in 25 may refer to the boy’s father. The village mentioned in 26 may be the father’s *origo*; see note below.

23 ]υς. Since the name of an *amphodon* is expected, this can only be [Παμμένο]υς. It occurs



without *Παραδείκων* in a similar docket in **3183** 21 (copy B); cf. also XL **2928** i 12, 14, ii 14, P. Fuad I Univ. 29.6.

26 ] . *Μερμέρθων*. The letter on the edge seems to be nu: ἐ]ν? Cf. ἐν *Θω*[ 6 ] (a village name) in **2855** 29–30, and ἐν *Τήει* in **3183** 24; these villages were thought to be the places where the fathers belonged, while the sons were registered in the city.

27 Perhaps read *κυκ*[τάτης; if so, this is the first such document signed by this official. **2855** and **3183** end with a mention of the person through whom the registration was made.

N. GONIS

### 5000–5012. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO VILLAGE POLICE

#### 5000. SWORN UNDERTAKING

32 4B.91/K(1–3)e

6.5 × 20 cm

166–9

Two village policemen, an *archepodos* and an *eirenophylax*, declare on oath that they will search for three persons (two from the same village and one Alexandrian) and present them to the authorities within sixty days. The text breaks off halfway through the guarantor-clause; the date formula will have followed.

This is the first document of this kind to be published, but the exercise itself is not unknown. In P. Giss. 84 (Apoll. Hept.; early II), an *eirenophylax* had to pledge that within thirty days he would present one person to the authorities and take another to prison; in SB VI 9105 (Ars.; late II), someone selected for the post of *eirenophylax* is petitioned to take an accused person (a ‘repeat offender’ whom the *eirenophylax* has previously punished) as well his victim to the metropolis. What occasioned this oath can only be a matter for speculation. Given the instructions in various summonses for the *archepodos* to ‘come up’ himself, especially in the event he failed to produce the wanted person (see e.g. **5004–5**), it is conceivable that this oath was taken at the metropolis, where the village policemen would have been summoned after they failed to respond to an earlier summons.

The text runs along the fibres. A stroke added at about the middle of the top margin does not look like a column-number. The back is blank.

Πνεφερώς Πνεφε-  
 ρώ[τ]ος τοῦ Ναυάρχου  
 μη[τ]ρὸς Τσενθ. τος  
 ἀπὸ [Τυ]χυφάγων ἀρχέ-  
 φόδ[ο]ς τῆ[ς] αὐτῆς κώ-  
 5 μης καὶ Ὠρος Θοτ. . . . .-  
 ος μητρὸς Θιν. . . . .-  
 τ[ο]ς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 Τυχυφάγων εἰρη-

10 νοφύλαξ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 κώμης δμνύομεν  
 τὴν [τ]ῶν κυρίων  
 Ἀτοκρατόρων Ἀντωνί[ρου]  
 καὶ [ ] . Οὐήρου Ἀρμενιᾶκῶν  
 15 Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν  
 Με[γ]ύςτων τ[ύ]χην  
 ἐν[τ]ὸς ἡμερῶν ἐξή-  
 κο[ν]τα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνε-  
 τώ[ς]ης ἡμέρας ἀνα-  
 20 ζητήσῃν καὶ παρα-  
 στήσῃν [ν] Θῶνιν Παυ-  
 έως μητρὸς Τνε-  
 φε[ρ]ώτος καὶ Πετό-  
 χειριν Πε[τ]ρέμιος  
 25 τοῦ Ψενήσιος μη-  
 τρὸς Θινπαυνίεως,  
 το[ν] δὲ δύο ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς αὐ-  
 τῆ[ς] κώμης, καὶ Νεί-  
 λ[ον] Νείλου Ἀλεξαν-  
 30 δ[ρ]έ[α], τοὺς τρεῖς ο[ἱ]  
 . . .] ὀθέντας ὡς ὡ.  
 . . .] νο ἢ ἔνοχοι εἶ-  
 ημεν] τῶ ὄρκῳ. παρέ-  
 χομεν δὲ ἐ[α]υτ[ῶν]

24 πε[τ]ρέμιος: μ written over ιρ

32 η ε- written over ειν

‘We, Pnepheros son of Pnepheros, grandson of Nauarchus, mother Tsenthe(u)s, from Tychinphagon, *archepodos* of the same village, and Horos son of Thot—, mother Thin—, from the same village Tychinphagon, *eirenophylax* of the same village, swear by the fortune of the lords emperors Antoninus and Verus, Armeniaci Medici Parthici Maximi, that within sixty days from today we shall search out and present (to the authorities) Thonis son of Paues, mother Tnepheros, and Petosiris son of Petsemis, grandson of Psenesis, mother Thinpayniis, both from the same village, and Nilus son of Nilus, an Alexandrian, the three . . . , or may we be liable to (the penalties for breaking) the oath. And we provided (as guarantors) for ourselves . . .’

2 *Ναύαρχου*. This is the first occurrence of the name (not the office) in a papyrus, otherwise attested in Ptolemaic inscriptions. For names derived from shipping and maritime activity, see G. Neumann, *BN* 22 (1987) 1–10, esp. 6; A. B. Tatakis, *Tyche* 20 (2005) 209–15, esp. 210.

3 *Τσειθ*. τοc. The uncertain letter seems to be η. If this is correct, the nominative of the name would be *Τσειθής* or *Τσειθεύς*; cf. XLIV 3169 64 (200–212 [HGv]) *Τσειθεύ*[c, or *Ψειθέως* in O. Strasb. 319.3 (126 BC), and *Ψειθηουc* in IGChEg 687.1 (no date). Although the name is not attested in Demotic, its formation is plausible, and its meaning would be ‘daughter of Thoth’ (communication from Professor W. J. Tait); cf. the name *Ψειθώτης* (*DemNb* 274–5).

4 *Τυχωφάγων* was a village in the Lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. See Pruneti, *I centri* 211; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* v 40, Suppl. ii 233, iii 153, iv 133. An *εἰρηνοφύλαξ* of Tynchinphagon appears in LXV 4486 5.

4–5 ἀρχέφοδ[ο]c. On the office, see N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*<sup>2</sup> (1997) 15; H.-J. Drexhage, in *Migratio et Commutatio: Festschrift Thomas Pekáry* (1989) 108ff.; C. Drecoll, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.* (1997) 158–63; C. Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes und Phylakon-Steuer im griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (2005) 94–8. The office is mentioned only rarely in papyri after the mid third century but survives well into the fourth; see P. Horak 11.2 n. (to the examples add SB XXVI 16496).

6–7 Θοτ. . . . |οc. The letter after tau is epsilon or sigma, followed by what looks like upsilon. If we opt for *Θοτευ-*, no known variant of the common name *Θοτεύς* can be read in what follows. If we read *Θοτκυ-*, *Θοτκυτάμ|οc* (not *Θοτκύτιμος*) may be possible. This is a rare name, attested only in P. Meyer 34.4 (III BC) *Θοτκυτάμ*, and IV 797 (103/102 BC) *Θοτκυταίος*. For the genitive in -ιοc, see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 78–9.

7–8 Θω. . . . |τ[ο]c. The two letters after Θω look most like λλ, followed by three or four letters, of which the first could be β, κ, or μ, the second ω or ο, and the third η or c1. No known name is suggested.

9–10 εἰρηνοφύλαξ. Most attestations for this office come from the second century (occasionally ‘second/third’). The *εἰρηνοφύλαξ* was, like the ἀρχέφοδος, one of the δημόσιοι κώμηc, and his office was a liturgy, incumbent upon the εὐεχήμενοι (SB VI 9105); see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*<sup>2</sup> 23; Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes und Phylakon-Steuer* 93, 108–9. Their number ranged from two (XVII 2121, P. Achm. 7, P. Lond. II 199, P. Ryl. II 89) to four (P. Berl. Leihg. 6, SB XIV 12136); Horos may not have been the only *εἰρηνοφύλαξ* of Tynchinphagon. A very few papyri refer to their police or other enforcement duties; besides those mentioned in the introduction, cf. P. Brem. 14, in which he is to deal with workers; P. Brem. 26, where we also hear that an *εἰρηνοφύλαξ* was killed; P. Vind. Sal. 2; and perhaps P. Harr. II 192.

9 At the end of the line there is a very small stroke. The scribe perhaps began to write the *κ* of *εἰρηνοφύλαξ*, but gave up because he ran out of space.

12–16 The imperial titulature is new. The victory titles point to a date between mid 166, when the two emperors assumed the titles of Medici and Parthici maximi, and early 169, when Verus died; see D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (1996<sup>2</sup>) 139, 144.

14 καὶ [ . . . ] After καὶ there is a break that could accommodate one letter, to which the lower part of the tail visible after the break may belong. Did the scribe write *καίσα* for *Καίσαρος*, and then deleted *ca*?

17–19 ἐν[τ]ῶc ἡμερῶν ἐξήκο[ν]τα ἀπὸ τῆc ἐνεστῶ[c]ηc ἡμέραc. On such official deadlines, see R. Taubenschlag, *Opera minora* ii (1959) 171–87, and N. Litinas, *APF* 45 (1999) 69–76.

19–21 ἀναζητήσῃc καὶ παραστήσῃc[ν]. These two verbs occur together in P. Panop. Beatty 1.214 (298) and VI 897 10 (346); cf. also P. Panop. Beatty 1.197 ἀναζητήσῃc [καὶ παράστα]c[ic]. For the procedure, see A. Łukasiewicz in *Symposion* 1985 (1989) 363–8.

21 Θώνη. This is a typical Oxyrhynchite name; see P. Köln IV 202.1 n., LXIX 4741 3 n.

22–3 Τνεφερώc. See *DemNb* 1068. The name is attested from the Ptolemaic period until the third century.

24 Πε[τ]ρέμιος. The name is new, but cf. *Πετμιού* in CPR XIII 6.1.8 = P. Count 24.51 (III

BC). The scribe first wrote Πε[τ]ρέμιος (there is no space for Πε[το]ρέμιος), and then corrected it by writing μ over η.

26 Θωπαννίεωc. Female names such as Θωπαννίc, Θωπαννιεύc, or Θωπαννιήc are not attested in the papyri. However, cf. the male names Παώνηc in P. Cair. Zen. IV 59727.16 (mid III BC) and Παώνηc in O. Strasb. 521.1 (II).

27 το[ὺ]c δύο. This is not a common expression, with ἀμφότεροι being mostly used; cf. e.g. I 101 3, II 275 5, 290 12, XXXVIII 2863 5, 2876 27–8.

30 τοὺc τρεῖc. This collocation too is not very common; it occurs in P. Köln II 100.6 (133), III 491 4 (126), XLVII 3346 13 (207–10/11), SB IV 7362.18 (188); cf. also SB XVIII 13871.6 (200–150 BC). We find similar expressions such as τοὺc τέσσαραc (P. Fouad 32.25, P. Sakaon 51.27) or τοὺc πέντε (P. Mil. Vogl. IV 236.11), but generally, the adjective πᾶc is preferred.

30–31 φ[ ]| . . . |οθένταc ωcω . . . One letter may have been lost at the end of 30. In 31, one may wish to read ]δοθένταc, but delta is not easy. In any case, if the division is correct, we have the end of a participle that probably indicates the reason for which these people were wanted. The reading and articulation of what follows is even more difficult.

32 ]υο. Probably δ]ύο, which should refer to the two policemen.

33–4 παρέc[χομεν (or παρέcχαμεν) δὲ ἐ]αυτ[ῶν ἐγγυητήν τὸν δείνα παρόντα καὶ εὐορκούντα, assuming that there was only one guarantor (there are numerous parallels); or, less likely . . . ἐγγυητᾶc ὁ μὲν Πνεφερώc Πνεφερώτοc τὸν δείνα, ὁ δὲ / καὶ ὁ Ἔρωc Θοτ . . . τὸν δείνα (cf. P. Köln V 229.23–31). Other variations of the formula, e.g. those involving the collocation παρόντα καὶ εὐορκούντα, occur in later documents, and are less likely to have occurred here. This clause is the commonest and is found from the second half of the second century until the beginning of the fourth, mainly in Oxyrhynchite documents; the only exceptions are P. Mil. Vogl. IV 237.18–19 (Ars.; 212), and PSI VII 734.26–7 (Herm.; 218–22). Our papyrus seems to offer its earliest example.

N. LITINAS

### 5001–5012. SUMMONSES (‘ORDERS TO ARREST’)

The twelve texts published in this section belong to a very frequently exemplified and extensively discussed type of document. The common term ‘order to/for arrest’ nowadays appears hardly appropriate, and ‘summons’ seems to be the one recommended.

A ‘consolidated’ list was given by A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 95–8 (78 items); a list of addenda (16 items) was offered by T. Gagos and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *BASP* 33 (1996) 95–6.<sup>1</sup> A new update (30 items) is presented overleaf.<sup>2</sup>

N. GONIS

<sup>1</sup> Half of the items in this list of addenda now have SB numbers: no. 1 (P. Tebt. II 535) = SB XX 15130; no. 3 = SB XXIV 16005; no. 11 = SB XX 15094; nos. 12–13 (P. Cair. Preis. 6a–b) = SB XX 15095; no. 14 = SB XXIV 16006; no. 15 = SB XXIV 16008; no. 16 (P. Lond. III 1074) = SB XX 14967. PSI XV 1536–1538 have been given new editions, and SB XVI 12967 = P. NYU II 49.

<sup>2</sup> Not included in the list is BGU XIX 2773. SB XXII 15628 (as P. Yale inv. 1347) and P. Strasb. V 309 were mentioned in P. Oxy. LXI 4114–4116 introd. (p. 90) but not in the *BASP* article (I owe the observation to Margaret Mountford, who is editing a number of summonses in her PhD dissertation at UCL).

publication	date	sender	recipient	village	w × h	fibres <sup>a</sup>
LXXIV 5001	I/II		archephtodos	Nemera, Oxy.?	8.9 × 6.9	→
LXXIV 5002	I/II	strategos	nomophylax + [archephtodos]	Naouis, Oxy.?	9 × 7	→
SB XXVI 16429	I/II		[archephtodos]	Thothis Kato, Oxy.	5.8 × 5.3	→
LXXIV 5003	II		archephtodos	Pakerke, Oxy.	9.3 × 7.5	→
LXV 4485	II		archephtodos	Iscion Tryphonos, Oxy.	10.1 × 7.1	→
LXV 4486 i <sup>b</sup>	II/III		archephtodos	Takona, Oxy.	(26 × 5)	*→
LXV 4486 ii	II/III		archephtodos	Tychinphagon, Oxy.	(26 × 5)	*→
SB XXVI 16465	II/III		archephtodos	Soknopaïou Nesos, Ars.	18.2 × 7.5	→
SB XXVI 16466	II/III		?	Philadelphia, Ars.	10 × 8.7	→
SB XXVI 16467	II/III		?	?Soknopaïou Nesos, Ars.	6.6 × 3	→
PSI XV 1552	III		proestotes, epistates eirenes, demosioi	Mnachis, Herm.	13 × 17	→
SB XXII 15628	III		archephtodos	Mermertha, Oxy.	7.5 × 12	→
LXXIV 5004	III		archephtodos	Takona, Oxy.	15.3 × 6.5	→
LXXIV 5005	III/IV	decurio	phylakes, demosioi	T—, Oxy.(?)	11.3 × 6.2	*→
LXXIV 5006	III/IV	decurio	comarchs, demosioi	Syron, Oxy.	9.6 × 7.6	*→
LXXIV 5007	III/IV	decurio	comarchs, demosioi	Paomis, Oxy.	9.5 × 7.2	→
LXXIV 5008	III/IV	decurio	comarchs, epistates eirenes	Pakerke East, Oxy.	10 × 7.2	→
LXXIV 5009	III/IV	decurio	comarchs, epistates eirenes	?, Oxy.(?)	8.9 × 6.1	→
BGU XVII 2700	III/IV		comarch, epistates eirenes	Enteis, Oxy.	11 × 9	→
BGU XVII 2701	III/IV	eirenarch	comarch, lesopiasiai	Senoabis, Herm.	25.5 × 6.5	→
LXXIV 5010	III/IV	vir egregius	comarchs, demosioi	Berky, Oxy.	20.8 × 5.7	→
LXXIV 5011	III/IV	beneficiarius	comarchs, epistates eirenes	Arabon, Ars.?	19 × 7.4	→
LXXIV 5012	IV	?	?	?	21 × 3.1	→

P. Horak II	IV	?	archephtodos, nomiamos(?)	?	15.8 × 11.5	→
P. Kell. inv. D/1/75.13.1 <sup>c</sup>	IV	archiereus	comarchs	Kellis, Moth.	25 × 5.3	→
P. Kell. inv. D/1/75.13.2 <sup>c</sup>	IV	archiereus	comarchs	Kellis, Moth.	4.2 × 6	→
P. Kell. inv. D/1/75.25 <sup>c</sup>	IV	archiereus	priest	Kellis, Moth.	13 × 7	*→
P. Strasb. V 309	IV	exactor	eirenarch	Philadelphia, Ars.	26 × 8	→
BGU XIX 2772	IV	riparius?	eirenarch	Psobthonyris, Herm.	27.3 × 4.8	→
BGU XIX 2774	V/VI	comes	eirenarch	Pois, Herm.	31.2 × 7	→

<sup>a</sup> \* = along the fibres but on reused papyrus.

<sup>b</sup> 4686 i-ii are written on the same strip of papyrus, on the back of a piece cut from a larger document.

<sup>c</sup> These three Kellis papyri were published by K. A. Worp in C. A. Hope, G. E. Powen (eds.), *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary Reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 Field Seasons* (2002) 334–6. The third item is addressed to the person summoned without the intervention of village officials.

## 5001

36 4B.93/M(1-3)b

8.9 × 6.9 cm

First/second century

A relatively early example of an Oxyrhynchite text of this type, not distinguishable in content or wording from others of slightly earlier date. However, its almost square format and the direction of the writing, along the fibres, place it in the minority. The back is blank.

ἀρχεφώδωι Νεμέρων.  
πέμψον Πλουτίωνα  
Πλουτίωνος γεωργὸν  
ἐντυχόντος Ζωίλου.  
5 μη(νός) Καισαρείου ι.

5 μη καισαρειο

'To the *archepodos* of Nemera. Send Ploution son of Ploution, farmer, at the petition of Zoilus. In the month of Caesarius, (day) 10.'

1 ἀρχεφώδωι. See 5000 4-5 n.

Νεμέρων. A village in the Middle toparchy. Another such text addressed to an *archepodos* of this village is LXI 4115 (III).

2 πέμψον. See U. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 62.

5 Caesarius 10 = August 3. For dates in summonses, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 159 (2007) 266. Cf. 5002 4.

N. GONIS

## 5002

45 5B.57/D(5-7)a

9 × 7 cm

First/second century

This text displays the same structure as P. Mich. X 590 (?; 1/II) and SB XVIII 13172 (Ars. ?; 88-96), re-ed. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 159 (2007) 264-6. The order is addressed by a strategus to the *nomophylax* and another official, probably the *archepodos*, of a village not known otherwise. That the papyrus was found in the rubbish dump of the city that served as the strategus' seat suggests that the village was Oxyrhynchite.

The writing is across the fibres. The back is blank.

ὁ στρατηγὸς νομοφύλακι καὶ ἀρχεφώδω  
κώμης Νάουεος. ἐκπέμψ[ατε] c.7

Νααρω[ο]ῦτος ἐ[.]. [ c.15  
Φαρμουθι ιδ. φ. η. . [

2 1. Νάουεος ἐκπέμψ[ατε: π corr. from μ

'The strategus to the *nomophylax* and *archepodos* of the village of Naouis. Send out . . . (son/daughter) of Naarouos . . . Pharmouthi 14. . .'

1 ὁ στρατηγός is the issuing authority also in P. Mich. X 590 and SB XVIII 13172; the same holds for P. Tebt. II 290, where the phrase ὁ στρατηγός σε καλεῖ is written on the seal. Though it is highly likely that down to the mid third century such summonses stem from the strategus' office, there is no reference to this official again until the fourth century.

νομοφύλακι καὶ ἀρχεφώδω. Restored after P. Mich. 590.1. SB 13172 is addressed πρεβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἀρχεφ(ώδω).

On the office of *nomophylax*, see XLIV 3190 3-4 n., XLVII 3344 5-6 n.; P. Freib. IV 62 introd. Cf. also 5007 7 and n.

2 ἐκπέμψ[ατε. This compound is used in Arsinoite, Hermopolite, and Oxyrhynchite orders; see U. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 65-6, 69, 71.

3 ἐν[κ]αλ[ο]ύμενον ὑπὸ + name? If so, the name would have been short. This participle is used in P. Mich. 590.4 and SB 13172.3. But ἐντυχόντος is possible too.

4 Pharmouthi 14 = April 9.

I cannot tell what was written at the end of the line.

N. GONIS

## 5003

29 4B.56/B(4-7)a

9.3 × 7.5 cm

Second century

An order to a village *archepodos* to 'send up' two *presbyteroi*. No reason is stated, but it is conceivable that this concerned their dealings during their term of office. An unusual feature is that the persons summoned are presented in the form of a list.

The writing is along the fibres and the back is blank.

ἀρχεφώδωι Πακερκη. ἀνάπεμψον  
τοὺς πρεβ(υτέρου).  
Πατέρμουθιν Διογάτος, μη(τρὸς) Ἀμμωναριού',  
Κοπρέαν [Ὀ]φελλίου, μη(τρὸς) Ταύριος.

2 πρεβ— 3, 4 μ<sup>η</sup>

'To the *archepodos* of Pakerke. Send up the *presbyteroi*: 'Patermouthis son of Diogas, mother Ammonarion. 'Copreas son of Ofellius, mother Tayris.'

<sup>1</sup> Πακερικη. There were two villages of this name, one in the Eastern (cf. **5008**) and the other in the Middle toparchy.

<sup>2</sup> πρεβ(υτέρους). These were the πρεβύτεροι τῆς κώμης; see A. Tomsin, 'Étude sur les πρεβύτεροι des villages de la χώρα égyptienne II', *BAB* 38 (1952) 477–8 (nos. 514–15). They often assisted the *archepodos*; see H. J. Drexhage in *Migratio et commutatio: Festschrift Th. Pekáry* (1989) 115–16. Things could occasionally go wrong: see BGU III 891 v (144), a surety for *presbyteroi* who were under accusation.

H. MAENO

## 5004

36 4B.98/F(1–2)a

15.3 × 6.5 cm

Third century

A son and his father are involved in the summons, but there is no mention of an accusation. The address to the *archepodos* suggests that the text is not later than c.250.

The writing is across the fibres. The back is blank.

ἀρχεφόδω Τακωνα. ἐξαυτῆς ἀνάπεμψον  
 Ἀκύλαν Ἀποληγίου ἢ τὸν πατέρα ἔχ[γ]νητ[ήν]  
 αὐτοῦ ὄντα ἢ εὖ αὐτὸς ἀνελεθε.

<sup>2</sup> 1. πατέρα

'To the *archepodos* of Takona. Send Aquila son of Apoleius, or his father who is his guarantor, or else come up yourself.'

<sup>1</sup> Τακωνα was a village in the Lower toparchy. Two other such orders are addressed to *archepodoi* of this village, namely LXV **4486** i and SB XVI 12313.

ἐξαυτῆς ἀνάπεμψον. Four other Oxyrhynchite orders attest this opening: XII **1507** (iii) and XLII **3035** (256), both addressed to comarchs and *epistatai eirenes*, lacking the accusation formula, and closing with the order that the officials should come up themselves if they fail to send up those summoned; **5010** (iii/iv), addressed to comarchs and *demosioi*; and the Hermopolite PSI XV 1552.3–4 (iii). One may thus assume that the formula is not attested earlier than the mid third century. However, the concept is already present in earlier texts; cf. SB XVIII 13854.3–4 (i) ἐξαυτῆς ἐ[κπέμ]ψατε, XVI 12649.3 (ii) ἐξαυτῆ[ε] πέμψον.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀποληγίου. This name is usually found in the spelling Ἀπολήιος. For the insertion of γ before a front vowel, see Mayser, *Grammatik*<sup>2</sup> i 142–3, Gignac, *Grammar* i 71–2.

πατέρα, 1. -α. For the form, see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 45. Relatives are often mentioned in documents of this type; a father and his son also occur in PSI XV 1536.

ἐχ[γ]νητ[ήν]. This word is not attested in any other such text. Surety was required for a wide range of purposes: for instance, a person could act as surety for someone in the case of a trial, in the case of payment of money or in the appointment of liturgists. See in general R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (1955) 411–17; J. Hermann, *Kleine Schriften zur Rechtsgeschichte* (1990) 94–121. If we suppose that Aquila was nominated for a liturgy and his father acted as a guarantor, the summons

could relate to something that happened when taking up the liturgy or during its performance; see N. Lewis, in *Pap. Congr. XI* (1966) 537 and n. 1, and *Compulsory Public Services*<sup>2</sup> 69.

<sup>3</sup> ἢ εὖ αὐτὸς ἀνελεθε. Cf. SB XVI 12313.3, (I **172** =) SB XVI 12706.3–4; sim. SB XII 11106.5. See also **5011** 3 n., and PSI XV 1536 introd.

P. M. PINTO

## 5005

71/11(a)

11.3 × 6.2 cm

Third/fourth century

In such documents the police functionaries of a village are ordered to send up persons to the *metropolis* or to come up themselves; here and in **5006** it is the local police that are summoned to appear; cf. also **5007**. Somewhat comparable is PSI XV 1536, which orders the *archepodos* to come up with two other persons—acting as a guard or because he was accused, is unclear. The addressees of the order are the φύλακες and δημόσιοι, a combination not attested elsewhere. The issuing authority is a *decurio*, previously found only in two such documents, I **64** = W. *Chr.* 275 and the ostrakon SB XVI 12469; see also **5006–9**. The reference to comarchs suggests a date after c.245.

The text is written along the fibres but on the back of a document, of which there are only scant remains (this is written along the fibres).

π(αρά) τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου).  
 ἐξαυτῆς ἤκετε ἅμα τῷ πεμ-  
 φθέντι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ στρατιώτη.

(vac.)

φ[ύ]λαξι καὶ δημοσίους

Τ[

5

1 π/ χ

'From the *decurio*. Immediately come with the soldier sent by me.  
 'To the guards and *demosioi* of T—.'

<sup>1</sup> (δεκαδάρχου). This military officer has been studied in detail by H. Melaerts in *Studia Varia Bruxellensia* 3 (1994) 99–121.

<sup>2</sup> ἤκετε. This imperative occurs in a similar position in P. Cair. Isid. 131.3, and P. Kell. inv. D/1/75.13.2.3 (see above, p. 135 n. c); at the close of an order in P. Wisc. I 24.5, P. Kell. inv. D/1/75.25.4 and **5011** 3. The collocation ἐξαυτῆς ἤκετε is found in VII **1025** 10 and SB XIV 11452.3, but the context is different.

<sup>2–3</sup> ἅμα τῷ πεμφθέντι. Cf. **5006** 4, **5007** 6–7.

<sup>3</sup> στρατιώτη. A soldier is mentioned in I **64** 3 and **5006** 5, issued by *decuriones* (cf. also BGU VII 1612, but the context is different), and in P. Wisc. 24.3, which stems from a procurator.

<sup>4</sup> φ[ύ]λαξι. Guards are mentioned only in two other such texts (SB XII 11107, XXIV 16005), in

which they are said to accompany persons who are to be sent up (cf. also XXXI 2577). The φύλακες were subordinate to *archepphodoi*, and there were two or more per village; see Homoth-Kuhs, *Phylakes* 94–8 (relevant Oxyrhynchite texts: IX 1193, 1212, XVII 2122).

5 Τ[. This is no doubt the beginning of a village name.

N. GONIS

5006

11 1B.147/B(a)

9.6 × 7.6 cm

Third/fourth century  
Plate VIII

This document conveys the same kind of order as 5005. The signature, in a different hand from the main text, causes difficulty; see 6 n.

The text is written along the fibres but on reused papyrus; the other side, written along the fibres, carries parts of a text in prose. Offsets under the subscription in 6 suggest that the piece was rolled up from foot to top before the ink was dry.

π(αρά) τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου)  
κωμάρχαις καὶ δημοσίοις κώ-  
μης Σύρων. ἔξαιτῆς ἀνέρ-  
χεσθε ἅμα τῷ πεμφθέντι

5 στρατιώτη.  
(vac.) (m.2) . . . .

1 π/ χ

'From the *decurio* to the comarchs and *demosioi* of the village of Syron. Immediately come up with the sent soldier. (2nd hand) . . .'

2 κωμάρχαις καὶ δημοσίοις. See 5010 6 n. P. Giss. Univ. I 15 is a similar order addressed to the comarchs of this village by a *centurio*.

3 Σύρων. This was a village in the Western toparchy.

6 I am not sure whether the writing is Greek or Latin. If the latter, it is not *signavi* (cf. 5007 6), though the first letter could well be Latin *s*. If the former, it might be *εξημ* for *εξημ(ειωσάμην)*.

N. GONIS

5007

27 3B.39/K(5–8)a

9.5 × 7.2 cm

Third/fourth century  
Plate VIII

The content of this document is unusual: the comarchs and *demosioi* of a village are ordered to go and meet a *decurio* at(?) the border of their village. The *decurio* seems to have been in the countryside and for some reason did not wish these of-

ficials to abandon the territory of their village, unless the border was simply a suitable place for a meeting. Another point of interest is the signature in Latin, unique in texts of this kind, and ultimately to be connected with the military function of the *decurio*.

Written across the fibres. Back blank.

παρὰ τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου) κω (vac.) μάρχαις  
καὶ δημοσίοις κώμης Πα-  
ώμεως. ἔξαιτῆς λαβόντες  
γράμματα φροντίσατε  
5 συναντήσαί μοι μέχρι τῆς  
συνορίας ὑμῶν ἅμα τῷ  
πεμφθέντι νομοφύλακι.  
(m.2) *seg(navi)*.

1 χ 8 *SEβ*; 1. *sig(navi)*

'From the *decurio* to the comarchs and *demosioi* of the village of Paomis. Immediately after you receive (my) letter, see to it that you meet me with the dispatched *nomophylax* as far as your border.' (2nd hand) 'I signed'.

2–3 Παώμεως. A village in the Thmoisepho toparchy.

3–4 ἔξαιτῆς λαβόντες γράμματα. Cf. I 62 = W. *Chr.* 278.4–5 (III), in a related order from a *centurio*: [ἔξα]ιτῆς λαβόν μου τὰ [γρ]άμματα πέμψον; for similar formulas, see IX 1193 2–3, XII 1506 2–3, P. Cair. Isid. 131.3, P. Horak 11.4–5, SB XXVI 16008.2, P. Kell. inv. (see above, p. 135 n. c) D/1/75.13.1.1, D/1/75.13.2.2–3, and D/1/75.25.2–3, all of the fourth century.

5 συναντήσαι. This verb is fairly common in papyri of the Ptolemaic period but almost disappears thereafter; its latest attestations are in SB XX 15077.11–12 (45) and here.

7 νομοφύλακι. A *nomophylax* occurs in one other text of the same period, 3190, in which he is said to be sent by a *prytanis*. For other instances, see 5002 1 n.

8 *seg(navi)*, 1. *sig(navi)*. Abbreviated as *sig* in P. Mich. VII 439 = ChLA V 301.18a. This is the Latin equivalent to Greek *εεσημείωμαι* (see 5010 5 n.).

N. GONIS

5008

18 2B.70/C(1–3)a

10 × 7.2 cm

Third/fourth century

A *decurio* orders the comarchs and *epistates eirenes* of a village to hand over—it is unclear to whom—two persons at the petition of a woman.

The writing is along the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου)  
κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάτηι εἰρή-

νης Πακερκη ἀπηλιώτου.  
 ἐξαυτῆς παράδοτε Κολλοῦθον νί-  
 5 ὄν Τνεφερσίτος καὶ γυναῖκα  
 Δέοντος Θρακίδου ἐντυχούσης  
 Αὔρηλί ας Ἰσιδώρας.

1 π/ χ

'From the *decurio* to the comarchs and *epistates eirenes* of Pakerke East. Immediately hand over Colluthus son of Tnepherseis and the wife of Leon son of Thracidas at the petition of Aurelia Isidora.'

2-3 ἐπιστάτη εἰρήνης. Cf. 5009 2; 5011 4 and n. On this official, see G. Geraci in *Hestiasis: Studi di tarda antichità offerti a Salvatore Calderone* iii (1991) = *Studi tardoantichi* 3 (1987) 235-45.

3 Πακερκη ἀπηλιώτου. See above, 5003 1 n.

4 ἐξαυτῆς παράδοτε. For the formula, see LXI 4116 2-3 n.; add P. Wisc. I 24.2-3, BGU XVII 2701.2, and 5009 3. It is unusual that there is no reference to the person to whom the accused are to be handed over.

5 νίον Τνεφερσίτος. An *apator*. The name Tnepherseis is chiefly attested in Oxyrhynchite documents.

N. GONIS

### 5009

15 2B.40/C(c)a

8.9 × 6.1 cm

Third/fourth century

This is yet another order from a *decurio* to comarchs and an *epistates eirenes*, who would have to hand over three (or more) persons to someone he had sent. The break at the right has taken away the name of the village and some details concerning the accuser and accused.

The writing is across the fibres. Back blank.

π(αρά) τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου)  
 κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάτη εἰρήνης κ[- - -  
 ἐξαυτῆς παράδοτε τῷ διαπεμφθέν[τι - - -  
 τάν καὶ Σαραπίωνα καὶ Πετέμουν[ιν - - - ἐντυ-  
 5 χόντος Ἀμμωνιανοῦ [- - -  
 .[. .] . . ἀτίων[ο]ς ἐξηγητ[εύσαντος].

1 π/ χ

'From the *decurio* to the comarchs and *epistates eirenes* of . . . Immediately hand over to the dispatched . . . —tas and Sarapion and Petemunis . . . —ation, ex-exegetes.'

2 κ[: κ[ώμης or Κ[- (beginning of village name).

3 τῷ διαπεμφθέν[τι] may have been followed by *στρατιώτη*, but this is not the only possibility; cf. 5007 7. The use of this compound is new in this context, but has occurred with a soldier in XIX 2230 10-11 (119-24).

5 The lacuna took away Ammonianus' patronymic, in which case the name in 6 would be his father's alias; or Ammonianus' alias, his patronymic following in 6; or some other term or occupation.

6 .[. .] . . ἀτίων[ο]ς. The letter before alpha looks like pi. Πατίων[ο]ς is one possibility; the name is attested in a couple of Arsinoite documents, but we should not expect to find it for a member of the Oxyrhynchite elite. Not Ψπατίων[ο]ς?

ἐξηγητ[εύσαντος] rather than ἐξηγητ[οῦ]. It is unclear whether this refers to Ammonianus or to —ation. Whatever the case, he cannot be identified with any of the known *exegetai*. For officials mentioned in such documents, see 5012 3 n.

N. GONIS

### 5010

31 4B.11/E(1-3)b

20.8 × 5.7 cm

Third/fourth century

A long strip written across the fibres, blank on the back. The hand suggests a date towards the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth; cf. BGU XVII 2703 (283), P. Col. X 281 (287), P. Hamb. IV 268 (289), P. Mich. XV 720 (308), P. Gen. I<sup>2</sup> 10 (316). Apart from slight variations described in the notes, 5010 uses a formula attested for such texts in the Oxyrhynchite nome between the mid third and the fourth centuries: see U. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 69-70, 73-4; LXI 4114-4116 introd. (pp. 90-91). A date in the late third or early fourth century may further be suggested by prosopography; see below 1 n. (on Achilles), and 4 n. (on Aurelius Plutarchus).

The text is an order from Achilles, whose rank (*κράτιστος*) is indicated but not his official function, to the comarchs and *demosioi* of Bercy, a village on the Hermopolite border, to 'send up' two persons escorted by a soldier, following an accusation made against them.

π(αρά) τοῦ κρατίστου Ἀχιλλέως.  
 ἐξαυτῆς ἀναπέμψατε διὰ τοῦ ἀπεσταλμένου στρατιώτου  
 Παφίβ Πρειτέλους σὺν τῷ νίῳ Ἀμάει καταμένοντας ἐν τῷ  
 Μεικρῷ Τραουθίνου προσελθόντος Αὔρηλίου Πλουτάρχου.  
 5 (vac.) (m.2) σεσημ(είωμαι).  
 (m.1) κωμάρχ(αις) καὶ δημοσ(ίοις) Βερκυ.

1 π/ 3 παφίβ' 4 l. Μικρῷ 5 σεσημ 6 κωμαρ<sup>x</sup> δημοσ'

'From Achilles, *vir egregius*.

'At once send up, through the soldier despatched, Paphib son of Preiteles with his son Amacis, both dwelling in the Small Tarouthinou; Aurelius Plutarchus is the plaintiff.'

(2nd hand) 'I have signed (it).'

(1st hand) 'To the comarchs and the *demasioi* of Bercy.'

1 τοῦ κρατίστου. The appellation *vir egregius* or *κράτιστος*, its Greek equivalent, was used for lower equestrian officials and military officers; see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangbrädikate* (1930) 19–22; F. Millar, *JRS* 73 (1983) 90–91; P. Köln XI 458.7 n. (with references). Achilles could have been an equestrian procurator, like the one in P. Wisc. I 24 (late III [HGV]), an order to the *archepheodoi* and *demasioi* of Philadelphia ἐξ ἐνκελεύσεων *Καραπίωνος ἐπιτρόπου*; or a military officer who does not specify his exact function. The despatch of a soldier may seem to favour the latter alternative, but a soldier too is sent by the procurator in P. Wisc. 24.

τοῦ κρατίστου Ἀχιλλέως. An Aurelius Achilles alias Ammonius, *vir egregius*, whose official capacity is not known, occurs in XXXI 2568 of 264. According to J. R. Rea, P. Oxy. XL pp. 31–2, this person has a fair chance of being the *hypomnematographus* Marcus Aurelius Achilles, *vir egregius*, mentioned as one of the addressees of 2915, 2918, 2920, which date from the period 270–75; add the undated SB XIV 12158 (see P. Hamb. IV p. 229 n. 47). It is unclear whether he is to be identified with the *archidicastes* Aurelius Achilles in XXXVI 2768 10–11 (undated but before 269; see P. Hamb. IV p. 224 with n. 29).

Another well-known Achilles active in this period was *corrector* and the right-hand man of the usurper L. Domitianus Domitianus in the Egyptian rebellion of 297–8; for an overview of this revolt and references, see W. Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie* (2001) 185–96, and A. K. Bowman in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> xii 81–2. We know so little about him that an identification with Marcus Aurelius Achilles alias Ammonius cannot be totally ruled out. (A. H. S. el-Mosallamy, *ÉtPap* 9 (1971) 153–64, suggested identifying the *corrector* with the *archidicastes* of 2768, but on flimsy grounds; see J. Schwartz, *L. Domitianus Domitianus* (1975) 92, 120. The revised dating of 2768, from the later third century to some time before 269 (see above), renders Mosallamy's suggestion even more difficult.)

3 Παφίβ. This name is new, though cf. Παφαβ in O. Strasb. 657.4 (Thebaid; IV/V) and Παφίβις in P. Rain. Cent. 65.3 (Lycop.; 234). The apostrophe at the end indicates that the name is indeclinable; cf. P. Kell. IV p. 21.

Πρειτέλου. The name Πρειτέλης is also an *hapax*.

3–4 ἐν τῷ Μεικρῷ (l. Mt-) Ταρουθίνου. This locality is new. The ἐποίκιον, later κτήμα, Ταρουθίνου is well attested (see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 198; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* iv 363, Suppl. ii 206, iii 145); it may have been located in the Eastern toparchy (see XXXI 2575 1 n.). In the sixth and seventh centuries, there are references to a κτήμα Μεγάλης Ταρουθίνου, apparently a different settlement (see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 199; Calderini–Daris, *Dizionario* iii 249, Suppl. i 193, ii 118). What underlies the use of the feminine form of the adjective there and of the neuter here, is unclear, though τῷ Μικρῷ may modify an implicit ἐποικίω.

4 προσελθόντος. See P. Mich. X 589–91 introd. (p. 49 and n. 12); another example in BGU XVII 2700.4–5, as read in Korr. Tyche 590, forthcoming in *Tyche* 23 (2008).

Ἀύρηλιου Πλουτάρχου. An Aurelius Plutarchus, former gymnasiarch and member of the board of *protostatai* of Oxyrhynchus in 296, is one of the senders of XXXVIII 2849; I do not share the reluctance of the editor of 2849 to equate him with the *vir egregius* Aurelius Plutarchus alias Atactius of IX 1204, who in 299 petitioned the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome to have his nomination as *dekaprotos* rescinded. Involvement of the person mentioned in both papyri with municipal matters in Oxyrhynchus in the 290s seems to be a good argument for such an identification. The chronological proximity between these two papyri and 5010 suggests that, although we may still be dealing with a namesake, the person mentioned in these three texts may well be the same individual.

6 κωμάρχ(αις) καὶ δημοσ(ιοις). Cf. 5006 2, 5007 1–2. On these officials and their police duties, see N. Lewis, *CE* 45 (1970) 161–3; H. E. L. Mißler, *Der Komarch* 120–21; J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19 (1975)

113–9; R. S. Bagnall, *JARCE* 14 (1977) 68; Drexhage in *Festschrift Pekáry* 108–12; LXI 4116 2 n.; CPR XXIII 7.13 n.

5005, 5010, and 5011 are the only such documents in which the addressees are mentioned at the end of the text instead of directly after the mention of the sender.

Βερκυ. A village on the border between the Hermopolite and the Oxyrhynchite nomes, on which see most recently F. Mitthof, *APF* 49 (2003) 208–9. It belonged to the Hermopolite nome from the middle of the fourth century, but may have earlier been included in the Oxyrhynchite; 5010 now seems to offer support to this view.

M. COTTIER

## 5011

36 4B.100/E(1–3)b

19 × 7.4 cm

Third/fourth century

This text generally corresponds to the standard structure and wording of such documents that date from between the mid third to the late fourth century. The script points to a date in the late third or early fourth century. A remarkable feature is that the addressees are officials of an Arsinoite village, yet the chit was found at Oxyrhynchus.

The papyrus seems to have been folded horizontally three times. The writing is across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) τοῦ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου).

παράδοτε τῷ ἀποσταλέντι Ψάιν Οὐίβιος ἱερέα Ἀθηνᾶ[  
ἢ ὑμεῖς ἦκετε.

κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάτῃ εἰρήνης Ἀράβων.

1 π/ β 2 ψαῖν 3 ὑμεῖς

'From the *beneficiarius*. Hand over Psais son of Vibius, priest of Athena, to the person despatched, or come yourselves.'

'To the comarchs and the *epistates eivenes* of Arabon.'

1 β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου). A *beneficiarius* issues a similar order in I 65 (III/IV). For the role of *beneficiarii* in the keeping of the public order, see N. B. Rankov, in E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken* ii (1994) 221–2, 230–31; R. L. Dize, *AHB* 9.2 (1995) 80; J. Nelis-Clément, *Les Beneficiarii: Militaires et administrateurs au service de l'Empire (I<sup>er</sup> s. a.C. – V<sup>es</sup> s. p.C.)* (2000) 228–9.

2 ἱερέα Ἀθηνᾶ[. There seems to have been a temple of Athena in the Arsinoite 'village of the Arabs', which is probably mentioned in 4 (see n.); Athena was either an Egyptian goddess (Neith or Thoëris) or an Arab deity (Allat). See P. Bottigelli, *Aegyptus* 22 (1942) 187; J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, B. Van Maele, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 219–20; S. Honigman, *AncSoc* 32 (2002) 64–5. However, W. J. R. RübSam, *Götter und Kulte im Faiyum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (1974) 153, considers Magdola as an alternative for the location of the temple.

Priests feature in several summonses; see XXXI 2573, LXI 4116, SPP XXII 1, BGU XI 2084.



Cf. also SPP XXII 55 (167), a petition addressed to a *beneficiarius* by a priest accusing one of his colleagues.

3 ἢ ὑμεῖς ἤκετε. Cf. P. Wisc. I 24.5 ἢ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἤκετε; among texts of this period, similar 'alternative' commands, but using the verb *ἀνέρχεσθαι*, occur in I 64 5, XII 1507 6, XLII 3035 5, BGU XVII 2701.4, P. Cair. Isid. 129.3-4; for earlier parallels, see 5004 3 n.

4 κωμαρχαῖς καὶ ἐπιστάτῃ εἰρήνης. Other such orders addressed to these officials are I 64, XII 1507, XLII 3035 (ἐπιστάταις), LXXIV 5008, 5009, and BGU XVII 2700.

Ἀράβων. This is probably the Arsinoite *κώμη Ἀράβων* rather than the Hermopolite or Pano-  
polite villages of this name. For this village, also called *Πτολεμαῖς (ἢ τῶν) Ἀράβων*, located in the  
division of Heraclides, see the entry in the Fayum project at [http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/285.php?geo\\_id=285/](http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/285.php?geo_id=285/). The reference to the priest of Athena makes the identification likely; see above, 2 n.

D. COLOMO

## 5012

85/5(a)

21 × 3.1 cm

Fourth century

The papyrus is broken off at the top and left. There is one horizontal fold almost coinciding with line 3, and one vertical c.6.5 cm from the right edge. The piece is unusually thick, which may suggest that it was cut from a roll at the point of a *kollesis*. The document in its original state would have conformed to the usual pattern, that of a long rectangle, though in this case the text runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

The hand is a large official cursive of the fourth century; cf. *PGB* 38b of 348. Though much is lost, the arrangement would have been of the same type as e.g. 5010, characteristic of Oxyrhynchite documents of this kind from after the middle of the third century.

]. . . [ c.5 ] . . . [ . ] . . . . . [ . ] . . . [ c.3 ] . . . [ . ] .  
] οὐετρανῶν καὶ Ἀνουβᾶν ποιμένα αἰτιαθέντων(ν)  
ὑπὸ ]ωρίωνος βουλευτοῦ. (m.2) *κεσημ(είωμαι)*.

2 *αιτιαθεντῶ*; l. *αιτιαθέντας*      3 *κεση*

' . . . of (the) veterans and Anoubas, shepherd, accused by . . . —orion, *bouleutes*.' (2nd hand) 'I have signed.'

1 At the end of the line, [ἀδε]λφ[ό]ν is a possibility.

2 ] οὐετρανῶν. What is lost in the break is unclear, but we may form an idea about it from P. Wisc. I 33.2-3 (147) Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρ[ω]σείου οὐετρανῶν; CPR I 244.2 (II/III) ἀπιδος τοῦ καὶ Τίτου ἀπὸ οὐητρανῶν; BGU VII 1634.11 (229/30) υἱοὶ οὐετρανῶν. There could be one or more army veterans. This is probably not an example of the collocation *ἀπό + officer* in the sense of 'former officer' (cf. *Lex. Lat. Lchn.* i 90-92).

ποιμένα. A *ἱεροβουκόλος* (see BL VII 48) is accused in P. Fay. 37.2 (III), and an *ἀρχιποιμὴν* in P. Prag. II 126.3 (Ars.; III).

*αἰτιαθέντων* (l. -ας). The mistake was presumably an influence from οὐετρανῶν. The aorist passive participle of *αἰτιάομαι* has occurred in BGU XI 2084.2 (Oxy.; III), P. Köln IV 189.2 (Oxy.; IV/V), and SB XX 14967.3 (Herm.; VI/VII). Cf. also P. Amh. II 146.4 (Herm.; V), P. Mil. II 42.2 (?; VI), and perhaps P. Mich. X 591.1 (Heracl.; VI), which use a different form of the verb.

3 ]ωρίωνος: Ὠρίωνος, Δ]ωρίωνος, etc. This is either the name of the accuser (or of the last of them, if there were more than one) or a patronymic.

βουλευτοῦ. 'When the accuser is given a description he is very often the bearer of a public office'; see LXV 4486 4 n., and for further discussion Drexhage in *Festschrift Pekáry* 112-13. BGU XVII 2700.5 and 2701.4 offer additional instances of officials in this context. A *βουλευτής* is the accuser in P. Fay. 37.2.

*κεσημ(είωμαι)*. There is no mention of the name of the official who issued the order, an established convention after the middle of the third century; see P. Cair. Isid. 131.8 n., and LXI 4116 4 n.

R. HATZILAMBROU

## 5013-5016. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO PERFORMERS

Published in this section are a list and three contracts of performers. Such contracts are well attested: with the three published here, they now number twenty-five; all but one date from the Roman period. These contracts are collected in M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private* (1964) 14-27; to these add CPR XVIII 1 (Ars.; 231 BC), P. Stras. V 341 (Ars.; 85), P. Ross. Georg. II 18 (Ars.; 140), SPP XXII 47 (Ars.; II), P. Alex. Giss. 3 (Ars.; 201/2), P. Heid. IV 328 (?; III), XXXIV 2721 (III), 5014 (III), 5015 (III) and 5016 (III/IV). References to performers in the papyri are given by H. Harrauer in CPR XIII, Einleitung: D.I., s.vv. *ἀθλητής*, *ἀθλητής*, and *ἀρχήστρια*. See further W. L. Westermann, *JEA* 18 (1932) 16-27, F. Perpillou-Thomas, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 225-51 (a prosopography of artists and athletes), and M. Vesterinen, *Dancing and Professional Dancers in Roman Egypt* (diss. Helsinki 2007), forthcoming as M. Satama, *Dance, Dancers and other Performers in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, in Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens (2010).

The contracts indicate the employers, the employees, the place and duration of the performance, the wage, and some other conditions such as the transportation of the performers. The employer is mostly a village association (*κύνδοκος κώμης*), as in the three contracts published here, represented by one or several presidents (*προστάτης*) of the association. Sometimes the employer acts as a private person, as e.g. in P. Corn. 9 (Ars.; 206) and in P. Aberd. 58 (probably Ars.; III). The employee is typically a group of performers (*κυμφωνία*, *κύνταξις*) consisting of musicians and dancers and represented by one person, the head or 'manager' of the group (*προεστώς*, *πρωταύλης*, *προνοούμενος*, *πραγματευτής*, *προνοητής*). As for the form of the contracts, the majority are either *homologiai* or *cheirographa*. Oxyrhynchite contracts mostly fall into the group of objective *homologiai*. For the legal

and formal aspects of the contracts, see e.g. J. Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Personen in den hellenistischen Papyri bis Diokletian* (1972).

The contracts provide valuable information, especially about the economic circumstances of performers, albeit the wage level of individual performers is ambiguous. This is due to the physical condition of the documents or to the contents and wording of the contracts (e.g. the exact number of performers is not stated). It seems, however, that the performers were paid considerably better than an average wage-labourer. For the wages of performers, see Westermann, *JEA* 10 (1924) 140–43, and H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (1991) 410–11. Updated tables of wages and detailed discussion on economic aspects of the performers are found in Vesterinen, *Dancing and Professional Dancers*.

Besides informing us about the economic status of the performers, the contracts offer an insight into the festivities in the villages of Greco-Roman Egypt. The duration of the celebrations is given by stating the month and number of days for which the performers are hired. The exact reason for the celebrations is not, as a rule, mentioned. There are, however, good reasons for arguing that the performances belong to contexts of religious festivities, for example, because of the old Egyptian calendar used in some of the contracts. Agonistic festivals of the Greek style seem not to be concerned. Festivities in villages and towns of Greco-Roman Egypt are discussed in F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque* (1993).

M. SATAMA

### 5013. LIST OF PERFORMERS

A 246

9.8 × 8.1 cm

Second century

A list of names, not alphabetically arranged, with occupations of performers, including one citharode (κιθαρῳδός), two comedy actors (κωμῳδοί), one (pantomime) dancer (ὄρχηστῆς), and perhaps one mime performer (μῖμος). These performers seem to point to a theatrical context rather than to performers hired to perform in villages, as is the case in the three contracts for entertainment published in this volume (5014–16). All the occupational titles listed here occur in various accounts of theatrical contests (e.g. III 519 of the second century), and as members of the association of theatre performers, the Artists of Dionysus (e.g. SB V 8855, an honorary inscription from Ptolemais; III BC). For the Artists, see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (1968) 279–305; C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989) 50–57; B. Le Guen, *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique* (2001). There is a short introduction with references to ancient written sources in E. Csapo, W. J. Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama* (1994) 239–55.

The exact nature of the list is unclear. The upper margin measures 1.5 cm, indicating that the list begins from the first line. There may have been preceding sections above the surviving text. There is some blank space to the left as well (1 cm). The purpose of the list may have been stated somewhere, be it either before or after the preserved lines. The names and occupations are in the nominative, which would at first thought exclude the possibility of this being part of an account of wages paid to the performers; in accounts the case is usually the dative (see e.g. 519). There are, however, lists of payments where the receiver is in the nominative, e.g. SB XX 14677 (Herm. ?; v), ed. pr. U. Horak, *Tyche* 4 (1989) 101–7, who notes (p. 102) that the names should be in the dative. In that case, our document should begin with a phrase stating that the following persons have received a sum, which in turn would have been mentioned in the right part of the papyrus, now lost. It is also possible that these persons have paid something, in which case the nominative would cause no problem. Another possibility is that our fragment is part of a tax list. This interpretation is supported by the crossed-out name 6, which would suit better a tax list than an account of payments. Again, in the case of a tax list, the paid taxes could have been mentioned in the right part of the document. A third possibility is that it is a part of the records of some club or association of performers. The nature of the association might have been given before a list of the members, and this fragment would be only part of that list. Later, perhaps, there could have been some other information, such as (membership) fees paid by individual members and accounts of expenditures. For this kind of document, see C. Ptol. Sklav. I pp. 333–51.

Only the first two names and occupations can be deciphered properly. The right part has worn off badly, and after seven lines only some traces can be seen. After line 4 the rest of the papyrus is only loosely attached to the upper part of the papyrus. The writing is along the fibres, and the back is blank.

Κάνωπος κιθαρῳδός

Θ]εαγένης κωμῳδ[ός

]ίων μ. . ος

]ος ὄρχηστῆς

5 ]ς κω[μῳδός

] [χός]

] ἀνδρ. . [

] traces

<sup>1</sup> Κάνωπος. The name is common. In a theatrical context, one should mention the Oxyrhynchus papyrus published by W. E. H. Cockle in *Pap. Congr. XIV* (1975) 59–65; ii 3 φῶδαι Κανώπου. There was also a tragedy actor named Kanopos; see I. E. Stefanis, *ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑΚΟΙ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΑΙ* (1988) no. 1375, p. 251.

*κιθαρῳδός*. A citharode, a performer who accompanied himself with the cithara, is mentioned in only a few papyri. In P. Cair. Zen. I 59087.17 and 23 (258/257 BC) two linen chitons are given to a female citharode named Satyra employed in Apollonios' household in Alexandria (see also P. Cair. Zen. I 59028; probably 258 BC). XXVII 2476 20, 26 (= Pap. Agon. 3; 288/289; listed in Stefanis, *ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑΚΟΙ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΑΙ* no. 24) mentions a citharode Agathocles also called Asterius, a citizen of Alexandria, Antinoopolis, and Lycopolis. XXXIII 2682 21–2 (III/IV) is a private letter in which greetings are sent to a citharode called Ammonis. A considerably later instance of a citharode is in SB XIV 12124.2 = XXII 15753.2 (Ars.; VI), where the slaves of the citharode Theodosius receive oil. To the list can be added the inscription mentioned in the introduction, SB V 8855.41, concerning the Artists of Dionysus.

2 *κωμῳδός*. A comedy actor is mentioned in three other papyri. In P. Cair. Zen. III 59417.11 (III BC), a private letter containing an account of payments to various persons, a comedy actor called Mikion receives 8 drachmas for some unknown reason. In an account of religious festivals, something is paid to a comedy actor (SB IV 7336.10, 22, Oxy. or Ars.; late III). A comedy actor called Syrus is mentioned in a private letter from Oxyrhynchus (PSI III 236.30–31; III/IV).

3 *μ. . ος*. Perhaps *μίμος*, though the second mu is difficult (*μάχος* cannot be read). Mime actors occur in various lists and accounts, often in connection with other theatre- or circus-performers; see BGU XIV 2428 (Hera.; I BC), III 519, X 1050, SB IV 7336, P. Wash. Univ. II 95 (IV/V), XXVII 2480 (565/6?), XXXIV 2707 (VI), P. Harrauer 56 (?; VI).

4 *ὀρχηστής*. While *ὀρχηστής* is a general term for a male dancer, from the first century onwards it refers especially to a pantomime dancer. Pantomime dancers performed either in private festivities or in theatres. In many documents where tragedy and comedy actors and, e.g., citharodes occur, these male dancers are also mentioned (e.g. SB V 8855.45 and OGIS 51, an honorary inscription from Egypt of c.240 BC). For further references to pantomimes in ancient sources, see Csapo–Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama* 369–89. The word *ὀρχηστής* occurs in three papyri related to a context of festivities: P. Stras. V 341.4, 9–10 (Ars., 85), a contract of performers; III 519 6 (II), an account of a theatrical contest; SB IV 7336.14 (III), an account (also l. 27, where something is paid τῷ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ δραματοθ[έτη]. See further F. Wormald, *JEA* 15 (1929) 239 ff. The word occurs also in two private letters, III 526 9–10 (II) and XIV 1676 7–8 (III), and cf. the term *παντόμιμος* in P. Flor. I 74.3–4 (Herm.; 181), a contract of performers.

M. SATAMA

## 5014. CONTRACT OF PERFORMERS

101/211(a)

7.9 × 17 cm

Third century

A contract drawn between Dioscorus and Petronis, the two presidents (*προστάται*) of the village Ibion Ammoniou, situated in the lower toparchy, and Coptreus, the head of a company (*πρωταύλης καὶ προεστῶς*) of *aulos*-players and musicians. In X 1275 8–9 (undated, but of the third century) occurs *Κοπρεὺς Σαραπάμμωνος* titled as *προεστῶς συμφωνίας ἀλλητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν*. It would be tempting to identify these persons as one and the same. Note also that in 1275 the performance takes place in Souis, which was situated in the lower toparchy too.

The closest parallels are 1275, XXXIV 2721, and 5015. The end of the document is missing; to judge from the contents, only the date and signatures are lost.

ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀ[λ]λήλοις Αὐρήλιοι Διόσκο-  
 ρος Ἡρακλᾶτος καὶ Πετρῶνις Πεσόιτος  
 ἀμφότεροι προστάται Ἰβιῶνος Ἀμμωνίου  
 καὶ Κοπρεὺς πρωταύλης καὶ προεστῶς  
 5 συμφωνίας ἀλλητῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν,  
 οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Διόσκορον παρειληφέναι  
 τὸν Κοπρέαν σὺν τῇ αὐτῇ συμφωνίᾳ  
 λειτουργήσοντα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης  
 πανηγυριζούσης ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ  
 10 ἀπὸ ἰζ̄ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Παυνι μισθοῦ  
 ἐκάστης ἡμέρας δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν  
 εἴκοσι καὶ ἄρτων ζευγῶν μ̄, ἐλαίου  
 ῥαφανίνου κοτυλῶν ἧ, καὶ ὄλων  
 τῶν ἡμερῶν οἴνου κεραμίου ἑνός,  
 15 ὄξους κεραμίου ἑνός, πάντων ὄντων  
 καθαρῶν. αὐτόθι δὲ ἔσχεν εἰς λόγον  
 ἀραβῶνος δραχμὰς τεσσαράκον-  
 τα καὶ τοῦτον σὺν τῇ συμφωνίᾳ  
 παραλήμφονται ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου  
 20 καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαντες ἐκεῖ παρέ-  
 ξονται αὐτοῖς ξενίαν ἀσφαλῆν  
 καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ μετὰ τὰς  
 ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ πληρώσαντες  
 αὐτοὺς τοῖς μισθοῖς καὶ ἐκτάκτοις  
 25 ἀποκαταστήσουσι εἰς τὸν  
 αὐτὸν Ὁξυρυγίτην. εἰάν μὴ  
 [. . . . .] . . . . .

Back, downwards, along the fibres.

(m.2) Ἰβιῶνος Ἀμμωνίου

17 l. ἀραβῶνος 21 l. ἀσφαλῆ 22 ἀνεπηρέαστον: last a corr. from c καί: κ corr. from μ

‘Aurelius Dioscorus son of Heraclas and Aurelius Petronis son of Pesois, both presidents of the village of Ibion Ammoniou, and Coptreus, the first *aulos*-player and head of a company of *aulos*-players and musicians, mutually agree, that Dioscorus’ party has invited Coptreus and the said company to perform for those who reside at the village as it holds a festival for seven days beginning from the 17th of the present month Payni, at a wage each day of 120 drachmas and 40 pairs of loaves,



3-4, 7 καλλινυγ'κος; 1. Καλλίνικος 8, 19 1. συμφωνία 8 1. λειτουργήσαντας  
13 1. ἐλαίου 20 χωρίς: χ corr.

'Aurelius Hatres son of Cornelius and Aurelius Didymus son of Anteros, both presidents of the village of Thosbis, and Callinicus son of Apeis from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, the head of an *ergasterion* of *aulos*-players and *krotalistriai*, mutually agree that on the one hand Hatres' party has invited Callinicus and the said company to perform for those who reside at the village, for five festive days, beginning from the 13th of Phaophi until the 17th, including the 17th of the same month, at the wage each day of one hundred and twenty drachmas and forty pairs of loaves and eight(?) *kotylai* of radish-oil, (and for all the festive days(?)) one *keramion* of wine and one of vinegar, all free from encumbrances. On the other hand, Hatres' party has remitted on the spot to Callinicus . . . (for earnest money?) twenty drachmas, and they will receive him with the company, act of God apart, from (anywhere within) the Oxyrhynchite nome . . .

3 Θώσβεως. A village in the Upper toparchy.

5 ἐργαστηρίου. On the particular significance of the terms here, see introd. Otherwise, the word ἐργαστήριον is well attested, generally referring to a (work)shop or storage of different types (e.g. ἐργαστήριον λαχανοπωλικόν) in XII 1461 5-6). For ἐργαστήριον in Ptolemaic corn administration, see R. Düttenhöfer, *ZPE* 98 (1993) 253 ff.

κροταλίστρια, often translated as a castanet-dancer, occurs in three other papyri, of which P. Ross. Georg. II 18 IV fr. O 425 is the earliest (Ars.; 140); it is a fragmentary roll of *diagraphai* with a *κροταλίστρια* in one entry. In P. Corn. 9 (Ars.; 206) Isidora and two other *κροταλίστρια* are hired, while in XXXIV 2721 the *κροταλίστρια* performs with a group of musicians (three *aulos*-players and their leader). The form *κροταλιστρίς* is used in III 475 17-18 (182), a document concerning an accident on a festive occasion. The verb *κροταλίζω* occurs in 5016 10 and the instruments *κρόταλα* (always plural when referring to the musical instruments) in P. Hib. I 54.13 (c.245 BC), where a certain effeminate (*μαλακός*) Zenobios is needed to perform at some religious festival. The *krotala* were percussion instruments, usually translated as clappers or castanets, played in a variety of contexts often by a (female) dancer to give rhythm to the dance and to enhance body movements. See also Herodotus 2.60, for *krotala* played in the festival of Bastet in Bubastis.

8 λειτουργήσαντας. See 5014 8 n.

10 ἀ[πὸ] ἡ[γ] τ[ο]ῦ Φαώφι. It is interesting that in P. Grenf. II 67 the performance is set to start also on Phaophi 13, though the date is calculated according to the old Egyptian calendar (= 6 August 237).

12-13 120 drachmas and 40 pairs of loaves as wage are exactly the same as in 5014 11-12; see the note there.

13-15 Perhaps *ράφαριν*[ου κοστ]υλῶν [δ]κτ[ὼν] καὶ ὄλων τῶν ἡμε[ρ]ῶν [τῆς ἐο]ρ[τῆς]. Eight *kotylai* of radish-oil would be the same amount as in 5014 12-13 and X 1275 18.

15 The amounts of wine and vinegar are the same as in 5014 14-15 and 1275 19-20.

16 πάντων ὄντων καθαρῶν. See 5014 15-16 n.

16-19 If line 18 is correctly read and restored (cf. P. Grenf. II 67.17), the reference is to the earnest money (*ἀρραβῶν*) paid to Callinicus, beginning from *αὐτόθι*, occupying the whole of the badly damaged l. 18 and ending with the sum, 20 drachmas, in l. 19. It seems that the clause in our document varies slightly compared with the three other contracts from Oxyrhynchus in which it is preserved (5014 16-18, 1275 21-2, 2721 20-22). In those documents, the clause consists (with some variation) of a form of the verb *ἔχω* followed by *εἰς λόγον ἀρραβῶνος δραχμάς* and the sum (40 drachmas in 5014, 20 in the other two). In 2721 20, it is further stated that the sum is paid from the wages (*ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν μισθῶν*).

19-22 For the phrase stating the transportation to the village and from there, see 5014 18-26 n.

22 At the beginning of the line, perhaps restore [*δύων*] followed by the number of donkeys. Cf. 1275 22-6.

M. SATAMA

## 5016. CONTRACT OF PERFORMERS

100/150(b)

9.5 × 7.2 cm

Late third/early fourth century

A contract drawn up between three presidents (*προστάται*) of the village Sincepha and the head of a company of performers. The contract is of the *cheirographon*-type, beginning with the greeting formula *ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν*. This is typical of contracts of the early Byzantine period, found also in the latest contract of performers, SPP XX 78 = CPR XVIII 19 (321).

The document is broken in two through lines 5 and 6. Only the beginnings of the first 12 lines survive, and probably almost half of the whole width of document is missing from the right side (c.20 letters), as suggested by the partly restored lines 6 and 7. Parts of some typical phrases occur in this contract, but on the whole it does not resemble any of the published contracts of performers to the extent that it would be possible to restore the missing parts with any certainty.

The occurrence of the collocation *τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρνηγιτῶν πόλις* (6-7, partly restored) suggests a date after 272, when this title first appears; see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277 ff., especially 285 ff.

The text is written along the fibres. On the back is the end of a private letter, written along the fibres in a different hand.

Αὐρήλιοι Κοπρεὺς Ἀμουνη[  
 Συντάουτος μη(τρὸς) Θασί[ο]ς  
 στράς οἱ τρεῖς ἀπὸ κώμης Κυγκ[ε]φα  
 προστάται {προστάται} τῆς ἀ[ύ]της κώμης - - - τοῦ  
 5 ἐνεστῶτος μη(νὸς) Τυβι εἰς ἔω[ς  
 Αὐρη(λίω) Κορ[ν]ηλι . . . πρ . . . [ - - - ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ  
 λαμπροτάτης Ὀξ(υρνηγιτῶν) πόλε[ως] χαίρειν. παρελήφα-  
 μέν σε μετὰ τῆς συμφ[ωνίας  
 . . . τιαριων συνπανη[ π-  
 10 αἰζέιν καὶ κλοταρείζ[ειν  
 πληροῦν ἐπὶ τὰς . [ . . . ]  
 . . . [ . . . ] . . . τῆ ὄλη συμ[φωνία  
 . . . [ . . . ]

3 τρις: ρ corr. from ο?; 1. τρεῖς 10 1. κροταλίζειν

‘Aurelius Copreus son of Amuni(u)s (and NN, Aurelius NN son of) Sontous and Thaeisis, (Aurelius NN, son of NN and NN), the three from the village Sincepha . . . presidents of the same village (celebrating?) (from the?) 17th of the present month Tybi until . . . , to Aurelius Corneli(an)us the head(?) of a group of performers from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. We have engaged you with your group . . . to take part in the festivities . . . to entertain and to play the *krotala* . . . (We agree?) to pay for the (days?) . . . for the whole group . . .’

1 *Ἀμουνί[ο]ς* or *Ἀμουνί[ο]υ*. The broken part of the line would have contained the abbreviation *μη(τρός)*, mother’s name in the genitive and the name of the second president in the nominative.

2 At the end of the line there would have stood the name of the third president in the nominative, his patronymic, the abbreviation *μη(τρός)* and her name in the genitive continuing to the next line 3.

3 *-τρῶς*. Since the next word begins the phrase ‘the three presidents of etc.’, this should be the end of a female name in the genitive, i.e. the mother of the third president. A tiny alpha (or iota?) seems to have been added on top of rho.

*Κυκ[ε]φα*. This was village in the Upper toparchy.

4 Since the next line contains a date that most probably refers to the days of the festivities (see below), one may restore *προστάται τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἑορταζούσης/-κούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ*; see **5014** 8–9 *κώμης πανηγυριζούσης* and the note there. (The verb *πανηγυρίζω* would be too long; thus *ἐορτάζω* is suggested.) The participle could also refer to the *προστάται*, i.e., restore *ἐορτάζοντες/-οντες* (‘the presidents of the same village who celebrate . . .’).

5 *μη(νός)* is abbreviated similarly to *μη(τρός)* in line 2. There is an oblique stroke between the day (*ιζ*) and *ἕω[ς]*. The phrase states the day when the festivities begin (17th) until which day they last; cf. e.g. **5015** 10 and P. Heid. IV 328.8–9 (III). The placement of the date, either for the time of writing or for the days the group was hired, is odd compared to other contracts of performers. The date usually comes last, and the days for the festivals are normally mentioned after the other party is introduced. Syntactically, however, it is more difficult to put the date of the writing of the document in this place.

6 *Ἀύρη(λίω) Κορ[υ]ηλιαῶ* rather than *Κορ[υ]ηλίω*. His patronymic or occupation should have followed next (‘head of the company’). This word seems to begin with *πρ-*, and if it is an occupational title, three possibilities exist: *προεστώς*, *πρωτάλης*, or *πραγματευτής*. To judge from the traces, the third is perhaps the most likely, and was probably abbreviated as *πραγ(ματευτή)*. The occupational titles of the head of the group of performers are briefly discussed in the general introduction.

6–7 [*ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξ(υρνηχιδῶν) πόλε[ω]ς*. See introd.]

7–8 *παρειλήφα]μεν*: or *παρελάβο]μεν*. The verb *παραλαμβάνω*, in the perfect or aorist, is typical in contracts of performers in the meaning ‘to hire’, ‘to engage’, ‘to invite (as employees)’, and hence suggested here; see e.g. X **1275** 10–11, XXXIV **2721** 7–8, 5014 6, **5015** 6–7. Other compounds or forms of the verb *λαμβάνω* also occur, e.g. P. Grenf. II 67.5 [*ἐ]κλαβεῖν*, P. Aberd. 58.2 *ἔλαβον*].

8 The line continues after *συμφωνίας* probably with a characterization of the group (‘group of musicians, dancers, etc.’).

9 The occupational titles in the genitive beginning in line 8 would continue to line 9, hence the genitive that ends with *-τιαριων* or *-τισαριων*. The first three letters in 9 seem to be *μαν-*, although the letters are not very typical for the hand. While the resulting word, *μαντιαρίων*, is a possibility (the diminutive of *μάντις*), its occurrence in connection with performers is unexpected.

*συνπανη[γ]*: some form of *συνπανηγυρίζω*, perhaps *συνπανηγυρίζειν*. In one contract of performers, this verb is used for the performers who are invited (i.e. hired) ‘to take part in the festivities’:

*ἐξαντῆς ἤκετε, καθὼ[ς] | ἔθος ὑμῶν ἔστιν συνπανηγυρίζειν, συνεορτάσων|τες* (VII **1025** 10–13). In our document there would still be room for one infinitive, perhaps *συνεορτάζειν*. The infinitives continue to the next line defining the role of the hired performers at the festivities. See also **5014** 9 n. A possible restoration of lines 9–10: *συνπανη[γυρίζειν, συνεορτάζειν, συμπ]|αίζειν*.

9–10 *π||αίζειν*. The word division is odd, but this restoration is hardly in doubt. *παίζειν* is probably part of a compound, since otherwise pi would have been written at the beginning of the line, e.g. *συμπαίζειν, ἐμπαίζειν, or προσπαίζειν*. In at least one contract of performers *παιστής* refers to a performer, either a musician or a dancer (P. Gen. I 73.5). The verb here can refer to playing an instrument or dancing in a playful tone. It could also refer to jesting, following the other occurrences of the verb in papyri, e.g. LV **3812** 10 and n. (late III), a private letter concerning the celebration of Saturnalia. The sender finds fault with the receiver who did not send honey to the celebration and did not arrive there, and says ‘I write this . . . by way of a joke’ (*ταῦτα δέ σοι γράφω . . . προσπαίζων*). Perhaps the verb here refers to the performers as jesters.

*κλοταρείζ[ειν, 1. κροταλίζειν*. For the interchange and transposition of liquids, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 102, 104. For the *krotala*-instruments, see **5015** 5–6 n.

The end of the line probably contains a phrase such as ‘in the above-mentioned village’ (*ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ κώμῃ*).

11 *πληροῦν*. The infinitive is part of the stipulation of the wage paid by the employers beginning from the previous line, i.e. ‘we agree/have agreed to pay’. Thus in the previous line a verb such as *ὁμολογέω* could be restored (e.g. *ὁμολογῆσαμεν*).

*ἐπὶ τὰς* [. The damaged letter seems to be alpha. *ἡμέρας* perhaps followed in the break, referring to the days the group was hired to perform.

M. SATAMA

### 5017–5019. ORACLE QUESTIONS

The following three papyri are examples of ‘ticket’ oracle questions from the Roman period. The most complete list of published oracle questions of this type is found at <http://www.trismegistos.org/magic/index.php>. N. Litinas, *ZPE* 117 (1997) 210–12, G. Husson, ‘Les Questions oraculaires d’Egypte’, in W. Clarysse et al. (edd.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years* ii (1998) 1071, and M. G. Assante, *AnPap* 16–17 (2004–2005) 81–102, offer corrections and new interpretations to previously published questions. Husson, loc. cit. 1063–71, and W. M. Brashear, *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3448–56, discuss the form of oracle questions and together provide bibliography that covers the long history of the practice from the New Kingdom to late antiquity in Hieratic, Demotic, Greek, and Coptic. Notice of unpublished Greek and Demotic oracle questions is given by Brashear, loc. cit. 3455; N. Grimal, *BIFAO* 96 (1996) 534, and 98 (1998) 534; and C. Gallazzi, *Acme* 48.3 (1995) 24, 50.3 (1997) 30, 55.1 (2002) 30. For private letters that mention the intention to solicit oracular advice or give notice of a solicitation, see P. Tebt. II 284 and R. S. Bagnall, R. Criore, *Women’s Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC – AD 800* (2006) 382–4. SB XIV 12144 is a prefectural order of 199 that aimed to outlaw the type of oracular activity the questions exemplify.

Oracle questions betray the concerns of individuals. However, observing

continuity and change of the language, form, and content of the questions over their long history indicates both the resilience of the tradition and possibly also local accommodation of demands made by political authorities. See D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (1998) 145–97, and P. Ripat, *Phoenix* 60 (2006) 304–28.

A discussion of ‘ticket’ oracle questions in comparison with the *Sortes Astrampychi* is found in Husson, ‘Les Questions oraculaires’ 1065–7. It is debated whether the *sortes* are a relation of the Egyptian tradition of oracular consultation or a product of Greek influence; see R. Stewart, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 67–73, Frankfurter, *Religion* 181–4, and Husson, loc. cit. 1065–7. The most recent edition is R. Stewart, *Sortes Astrampychi* ii (2001); see also LXVII 4581. Brashear, loc. cit. 3452, provides bibliography for previous editions. P. W. van der Horst’s review of Stewart’s edition (*BMCR* 2001.10.04) discusses the use and significance of the *sortes*. An English translation by R. Stewart and K. Morrell may be found in W. Hansen (ed.), *Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature* (1998) 291–324. See also K. Brodersen, *Astrampychos: Das Pythagoras-Orakel* (2006).

P. RIPAT

## 5017

29 4B.44/B(7–8)b

8.4 × 1.6 cm

First/second century

This small slip contains, like 5018, a question to the oracle of Zeus-Helios-Serapis and associated gods. The interest of this text lies in the mention of the name of the petitioner, Euphorus, who asks the gods for a ‘recovery’. From what he wishes to recover is unclear; it could have been any kind of misfortune, from diseases to financial misery, etc.

The brevity of the question (*protasis*) is also remarkable. Although the question asked is not among those included in the *Sortes Astrampychi*, it may have figured in a list of model questions offered to petitioners, since such shortness is characteristic of the *sortes*. On the other hand, the petitioner expects the gods to know the background of his question.

The text is written along the fibres in a plain and unpractised hand assignable to the first or second century. The back is blank. There are no traces of folding.

Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι καὶ  
τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς. ἀξιοῖ Ἐϋφορος,  
εἰ ἀνακτήσωμαι, τοῦτό μοι δός.

3 l. ἀνακτήσωμαι

‘To Zeus Helios, the great Serapis, and the associated gods. Euphorus asks: if I am going to recover, give me this.’

<sup>1</sup> For other occurrences of this invocation, see 5018 1 n. The combination of Helios and Serapis alone is found in VIII 1148 and XXXI 2613. In XLII 3078 Zeus Helios Serapis has the epithet of *νικαφόρος*. All these oracular questions addressed to Serapis and associated gods must have been deposited at the temple of Serapis in Oxyrhynchus, on which see J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3078–9.

<sup>2</sup> ἀξιοῖ. This verb introduces the request also in IX 1213, SB XVI 12677, 13079, XXIV 16260, PGM XXXe. Other verbs used in this context are δεικθαι and ἐρωτᾶν; for examples see L. Papini, ‘Osservazioni sulla terminologia delle domande oracolari in greco’, in *Pap. Flor.* XIX (1990) 468–9.

*Εϋφορος*. The only other papyrus that may attest this name is P. Enteux. 26.16 *Εϋφορ*[. Outside Egypt, the name is found in mainland Greece and Sicily: see Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 429; *RE* vi 1190; *LGN* ii 188, iiiA 181.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνακτήσωμαι. The verb means basically ‘repossess’, normally with direct object: ‘regain possession’ of things, ‘cause to recover (from illness)’ of people, ‘refurbish’ buildings, in the documents often ‘bring back’ derelict land into cultivation. For a survey of usage, see *DGE*. In our papyrus no object is stated, and the precise sense remains uncertain.

ἀνακτήσωμαι must be a phonetic spelling of ἀνακτήσομαι (future); for the confusion of ο and ω, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 277. It is less likely that we have to take it at face value, as an aorist subjunctive with future meaning (for which see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (1973) §540).

The form of the apodosis is very common. For that and other possibilities see Papini, ‘Osservazioni’ 467–8. τοῦτο refers to the chit on which the oracular question is written. This is explicitly shown in questions to an oracle such as LV 3799 7 τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκιον ἐνεγκ(ον).

M. GERHARDT

## 5018

36 4B.95/M(1–3)a

11.5 × 5.5 cm

Second century

An oracle question addressed to Zeus-Helios-Serapis concerning the dissolution of a decision. IX 1213 provides the best parallel in form, if not subject matter. The scribe of this question may in fact be the same as the one who wrote 1213, as there is a similarity amongst many of the letter forms, particularly the epsilon of *Μένανδρος* in 1213 and the *Θέων* of this question, and an identical way of ligaturing an alpha to a following iota. Both scripts lean to the right slightly and letter heights are of comparable size.

Written across the fibres, on the ‘recto’ of the original roll. The back is blank.

Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι καὶ τοῖς  
συννάοις θεοῖς. ἀξιοῖ Θέων ὁ καὶ  
Πτολεμαῖος· ἢ κύμφορόν μοι ἐστι  
διαλύσασθαι α. λ. τι κ. γ. ἐπίκριον,  
5 τοῦτό μοι δός.

3 l. εἰ

'To Zeus Helius, great Serapis and the associated gods, Theon, also called Ptolemaeus, asks: if it is beneficial for me to dissolve the . . . decision, give me this.'

1 *Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σεράπιδι*. Cf. **5017** 1. Zeus-Helius-Serapis is addressed in oracle questions thus far from Oxyrhynchus only (see VIII **1149**, IX **1213**, and XLII **3078**; compare VI **923**, VIII **1148**, XXXI **2613**). On the general popularity of the designation on inscriptions of the first through the third centuries, see J. E. Stambaugh, *Serapis under the Early Ptolemies* (1972) 79–82.

1–2 *καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς*. Compare **1213**, P. Köln IV 201, and SB XVIII 14043. See E. G. Huzar, *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3112–13, J. A. S. Evans, *TCS* 17 (1961) 150–58, and A. D. Nock, in Z. Stewart (ed.), *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (1972) 202–51, concerning the meaning of this phrase, which probably refers to the emperors in their divine form.

2–3 *ἀξιοὶ Θεῶν ὁ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος*. It is not unusual for the enquirers to refer to themselves in the third person (**1149**, **1213**, P. Köln 201, P. Strasb. V 352 and 353, SB 14043). The use in an oracle question of an alias, signified by *ὁ καὶ NN*, is found also in **1149** 7–8 *Καραπίωνα τ[ὸ]ν κα[ὶ] Γ[α]ίωνα*.

3 *ἦ*, l. εἰ. Two unconnected strokes, bearing no resemblance to any letter, intervene between *Πτολεμαῖος* and *κύμφορον*. εἰ cannot be read, while the strokes suggestive of η are not found elsewhere in the text. η nonetheless remains the most probable reading given the alternatives, though the second stroke suggests that another letter follows it.

4 *α*, λ, *τις*, *ν*. The letter after *α* looks like λ; the letter between *κ* and *ν* is ligatured to *κ*, and resembles ι, but could also be η. One might expect either an adjective in agreement with *ἐπικριεῖν*, and we have considered reading *ἀθλητικῆν*, but have little confidence in this.

*ἐπικριεῖν*. The terms may refer to a 'decision' in the general sense or to the process that determined a person's legal status for tax purposes; those who believed they had claim to a superior status and its accompanying lower rate of taxation would undergo *ἐπικριεῖν*.

P. RIPAT

### 5019

47 5B.43/C(2–4)a

9 × 3.5 cm

Earlier second century

An oracle question concerning the potential purchase of a female slave. This example deviates from the normal formula usually adopted by such questions (as described by Brashear, *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3448–56, and A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 116–17), in that it lacks the expected address to a deity or deities to whom the inquirer's question was submitted. However, XII **1567**, identified by B. Kramer, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 61–2, as an oracle question, provides a parallel, as do LXV **4470** and SB XXIV 16259 (see *ZPE* 111 (1996) 184). Another oracle question concerning the purchase of a slave is VIII **1149**. The hand may be compared to that of LXII **4335**, a rent receipt of 128.

Written across the fibres. The back is blank except for some offsets.

*εἰ οἶδας ὅτι συνφέρει μᾶλλον ἀγοράσαι  
 παιδίεσθαι καὶ οὐ συνφέρει οὕτως  
 χρήσασθαι, τοῦτό μοι δός.*

1, 2 *1. συνφέρει*

'If you know that it is more advantageous to buy a slave girl and (that) it is not advantageous to borrow(?) her like this, give me this.'

1 *εἰ οἶδας*. Oracle questions often initially address the god(s) in the dative, and it is unusual that the deity should be addressed with a second person verb. The expected formula would have been 'if it is advantageous for me (or N.N., in the third person) to buy the slave, etc.' rather than 'if you know that etc.'

3 *χρήσασθαι*. This verb is not in the expected sense of prophetic consultation and response, but probably in the sense of 'to borrow' rather than 'to own' (LSJ B.1); in this way the two indirect statements linked by *καί* merely rephrase each other. Redundancy in oracle questions may be expected, as clarity was of supreme importance; compare VIII **1148**. Alternatively, it could simply mean 'make use of' (cf. XLII **3078** 2) or 'treat'.

P. RIPAT



## INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in LSJ or its Revised Supplement and previously unattested names and places. The article and (in the documentary sections) *καί* have not been indexed.

### I. MEDICAL AND RELATED TEXTS

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <p> <i>ἀβρύτανον</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 20<br/> <i>Αιγύπτιος</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 9, 15-16<br/> <i>αἰδοῖον</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 3, 11<br/> <i>αἰμορρεῖν</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 11<br/> <i>ἄκοπος</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 17<br/> <i>ἄλας</i> 4978 8<br/> <i>ἄλλος</i> 4971 16 4972 18 4975<sup>1</sup> 1, 17<br/> <i>ἄμα</i> 4970 6<br/> <i>ἄν</i> [4972 16]<br/> <i>ἀναγκαῖος</i> [4971 21]<br/> <i>ἀναλαμβάνειν</i> 4977 8<br/> <i>ἀναπλάσσειν</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 15<br/> <i>ἀνάρροπος</i> 4972 5<br/> <i>ἄνω</i> 4973 ii 5<br/> <i>ἀπλοῦς</i> 4972 24, 26 4974 3<br/> <i>ἀπό</i> 4970 3 4972 18<br/> <i>ἀποβρέχειν</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 18<br/> <i>ἀποδέχεσθαι</i> 4971 6<br/> <i>ἀποστενοχωρεῖν</i> [4971 13-14]<br/> <i>ἀπρέπεια</i> 4972 30<br/> <i>ἄπταιστος</i> 4970 6<br/> <i>ἀραιωτικόν</i> [4978 1]<br/> <i>(-)ἀρθρωτός</i> 4973 iii 2<br/> <i>ἄρρυθμος</i> 4973 ii 12<br/> <i>ἀρσενικόν</i> 4979 6<br/> <i>ἀρχή</i> 4970 3<br/> <i>ἀσθένεια</i> 4971 14<br/> <i>αἰθημερεί</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 13<br/> <i>αὐτός</i> 4972 32<br/> <i>ἀφέψειν</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 19<br/> <i>ἀφόδευμα</i> 4978 3         </p> | <p> <i>γλαυσκόμομον</i> 4979 3<br/> <i>γνάθος</i> 4973 ii 11<br/> <i>γνωρίζειν</i> 4972 19<br/> <i>γομφίος</i> 4973 ii 12<br/> <i>γόμφωσις</i> 4974 2         </p>   | <p> <i>ἐνικός</i> [4972 28]<br/> <i>ἐνιος</i> [4975<sup>1</sup> 3]<br/> <i>*ἐντεροκηλίδιον</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 8<br/> <i>ἐπαγγελία</i> 4972 [28-9], [35-6?]<br/> <i>ἐπαγγέλλειν</i> 4972 [29], [36]<br/> <i>ἐπαίρειν</i> 4973 ii 6<br/> <i>ἐπεὶ</i> 4971 2<br/> <i>ἐπί</i> 4972 37, 38 4975<sup>1</sup> 10<br/> <i>ἐπιβάλλειν</i> 4977 7<br/> <i>ἐπιθεῖν</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 10<br/> <i>ἐπίμεικτος</i> 4972 25, 33-34, [37-8]<br/> <i>ἐπιπάσσειν</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 12<br/> <i>ἐπιτήδειος</i> 4972 [4], 8<br/> <i>ἐπιφαίνειν</i> 4973 ii 8<br/> <i>ἐπιφορά</i> 4977 11<br/> <i>ἐπιχρίειν</i> [4978 5]<br/> <i>εὐογκος</i> [4973 iii 8?]<br/> <i>εὐπρέπεια</i> 4972 [29-30], [41]<br/> <i>ἔχειν</i> 4972 28, 35, 39 4973 iii 11<br/>             4975<sup>1</sup> 19<br/> <i>ζεῖν</i> 4978 7<br/> <i>ζῆν</i> 4972 31, 32, 41<br/> <br/> <i>ἦ</i> 4971 13 4972 5, 10, 29, 30, [31]<br/>             4973 ii 4 4975<sup>1</sup> 15 4977 12?<br/> <i>ἦλικος</i> [4975<sup>1</sup> 15]<br/> <i>ἡμέρα</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 10<br/> <br/> <i>θεραπεία</i> 4972 13<br/> <i>θεώρημα</i> 4970 2<br/> <i>θηριοῦν</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 11<br/> <br/> <i>ιατρεύειν</i> 4970 6<br/> <i>ιατρικός</i> 4970 1<br/> <i>Ἴπποκράτειος</i> 4970 3<br/> <i>ἴσος</i> 4978 3<br/> <i>ἰσάναί</i> 4975<sup>1</sup> 13<br/> <i>ἰσάνα</i> 4977 10         </p> |
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**4998** 22–7 (year 1)

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Φαμενωθ ( <b>4980</b> 16) <b>4989</b> 31	Παννι ( <b>4982</b> 20) <b>4994</b> 25 <b>5014</b> 10	

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7 March 34 <b>4980</b> 15–16	187/8 <b>4990</b> 11–12	26 May – 24 June 254 <b>4997</b> 18–24
26(?) April 34 <b>4981</b> 16–17	215/16 <b>4991</b> 12–15	254/5 <b>4996</b> 21–7
28 May 62 <b>4982</b> 17–20	223/4 <b>4992</b> 14–16	12 August 292 <b>4999</b> 17–22
145/6 <b>4987</b> 5	253/4 <b>4998</b> 22–7	
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	26 May or 24 June 254 <b>4994</b> 20–25	

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Ἀκύλας, s. of Apoleius <b>5004</b> 2	Ἀντίνοος, Aur., prefect of Egypt <b>4991</b> 8–9	Ἀρμίνεις, s. of Didyme <b>4989</b> 15
Ἀλέξανδρος see Index II s.v. Seve- rus Alexander	Ἀντίοχος, s. of Theon, h. of Hiera- ciaena, f. of Ploution <b>4997</b> 1, 34	Ἀρμίνεις, s. of Heraclides, h. of Diogenis, f. of Sarapous <b>4994</b> 6, 29, 35
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Ἀμμωνιανός <b>5009</b> 5	Ἄπεις, f. of Aur. Callinicus <b>5015</b> 4	Ἀσκατάριον, w. of Plutarchus, m. of Didyme <b>4989</b> 2
Ἀμμώνιος <b>4985</b> 1; see also Index VI s.v. Ἰβίων Ἀμμωνίου	Ἄπιων <b>4998</b> 30	Ἀσκληπιάδης, Aur. Theon alias, also called Zoilus <b>4995</b> 25
Ἀμοῦτᾶς, Aur., s. of Amoitias and Thaesis, ἐπίτροπος of Vibius Pub- lius <b>4998</b> 4, [27]	Ἀπολλήιος, f. of Aquila <b>5004</b> 2	Ἄτρης, Aur., s. of Cornelius, presi- dent of Thosbis <b>5015</b> 1, 17
Ἀμοῦτᾶς, f. of Aur. Amoitias <b>4998</b> 4, 28	Ἀπολλ— <b>4981</b> 2, 18	Αὐρηλία see Ἰσιδώρα
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Ἀνδρόμαχος, s. of Didyme <b>4989</b> 13	Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Tapontos <b>4982</b> 4	
Ἀνίκητος, alias N.N., slave of Vi- bius Publius <b>4998</b> 11	Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Sarapion <b>4983</b> 8	
Ἄνουβᾶς, shepherd <b>5012</b> 2	Ἀριστοῦς, d. of Ariston, w. of Sa- rapion, m. of Sieapis and Thais <b>4983</b> 8	
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## V. PERSONAL NAMES

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- maeus and Apollonia **4998** 6, [7]-8, 12, 15  
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